



universität
wien

DIPLOMARBEIT

Titel der Diplomarbeit

„The Subjunctive and the Expression of Mood in Late
Modern and Contemporary English“

Verfasserin

Tina Maria Krasanovsky

angestrebter akademischer Grad

Magistra der Philosophie (Mag.phil.)

Wien, 2012

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt:

A 190 347 344

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt:

UF Französisch UF Englisch

Betreuer:

Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Nikolaus Ritt

Declaration of authenticity

I confirm to have conceived and written this Diploma Thesis (Diplomarbeit) in English all by myself. Quotations from other authors are all clearly marked and acknowledged in the bibliographical references. Any ideas borrowed and/or passages paraphrased from the works of other authors have been truthfully acknowledged and identified in the bibliography.

Table of Contents

1. Preface	6
2. Introduction	8
3. Theoretical preliminaries.....	14
3.1. Tense	15
3.2. Aspect	16
3.3. Mood	17
3.4. Modality	19
3.5. Modal verbs	21
3.6. Subjunctive	29
3.6.1. The subjunctive in Greek and Latin	29
3.6.2. Other European Languages	30
3.6.3. Historical development	31
3.6.3.1. Old English (beginnings to 1066).....	31
3.6.3.2. Middle English (1066-1476).....	33
3.6.3.3. Early Modern English (1476-1776)	36
3.6.3.4. Late Modern and Contemporary English (1776-1997).....	38
3.6.4. Current research on the subjunctive.....	40
4. Methods.....	48
5. Information on the corpora.....	50
6. Results.....	51
6.1. Hypothesis 1	56
6.2. Hypothesis 2	59
6.3. Hypothesis 3	80
6.4. Hypothesis 4	86
6.5. Hypothesis 5	96
6.6. Hypothesis 6	99
6.7. Claim 1	100
6.8. Claim 2	100
6.9. Claim 3.....	101
6.10. Claim 4.....	101
7. Conclusion.....	103
8. Bibliography.....	106
9. Appendix.....	109

List of Tables, Images and Figures

Table 1: Development of indicative and subjunctive endings since Old English	37
Image 1: Extract from Access database	50
Figure 1: Overall distribution of base forms, subjunctives, and modals	52
Figure 2: Frequency within modal category	53
Figure 3: Overall frequency of base forms, subjunctives, and modals in COHA.....	53
Figure 4: Overall frequency of base forms, subjunctives, and modals in COCA.....	54
Figure 5: Development of ratio in COHA	55
Figure 6: Development of ratio in COCA	56
Figure 7: Ratio between base forms and modals in different persons	57
Figure 8: Development of base forms and subjunctives in different persons.....	58
Figure 9: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>advise</i>	60
Figure 10: Percentage of individual modals	61
Figure 11: Development of base forms, subjunctives and modals for <i>advise</i>	62
Figure 12: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>beg</i>	63
Figure 13: Percentage of individual modals	64
Figure 14: Development of base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>beg</i>	65
Figure 15: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>command</i>	66
Figure 16: Percentage of individual modals	66
Figure 17: Development of base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>command</i>	67
Figure 18: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>decree</i>	68
Figure 19: Percentage of individual modals	69
Figure 20: Development of base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>decree</i>	69
Figure 21: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>direct</i>	70
Figure 22: Percentage of individual modals	71
Figure 23: Development of base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>direct</i>	71
Figure 24: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>intend</i>	72
Figure 25: Percentage of individual modals	73
Figure 26: Development of base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>intend</i>	73
Figure 27: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>plead</i>	74
Figure 28: Percentage of individual modals	75
Figure 29: Development of base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>plead</i>	76
Figure 30: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for <i>prefer</i>	76
Figure 31: Percentage of individual modals	78
Figure 32: Development of base forms, subjunctives and modals for <i>prefer</i>	78
Figure 33: Overview of ratio for all verbs	79
Figure 34: Ratio between active and passive sentences in genres	81
Figure 35: Ratio between passive and active subjunctives in genres	82
Figure 36: Development of subjunctives and passives over time	83
Figure 37: Ratio between subjunctives and modals in passive and active voice	84
Figure 38: Development of subjunctive, base form, and modals in active sentences	84
Figure 39: Development of subjunctive, base form, and modals in passive sentences	85
Figure 40: Distribution of genres in data	87
Figure 41: Ratio within genres	87
Figure 42: Development of ration in news	89
Figure 43: Development of ratio in magazines	90
Figure 44: Development of ratio in fiction	90

Figure 45: Development of ratio in non-fiction	91
Figure 46: Development of ratio in academic writing	92
Figure 47: Development of ratio in spoken texts.....	92
Figure 48: Ratio in major sources of newspapers.....	93
Figure 49: Ratio in major sources of magazines.....	94
Figure 50: Ratio in major sources of spoken texts	95
Figure 51: Distribution of tenses in the data	97
Figure 52: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals in tenses.....	97

1. Preface

As a student of French, the “subjonctif” was a well-known phenomenon for me. Yet, in a seminar on Middle English, I was surprised to find out that a similar grammatical form existed in English as well and I wondered why I had never realised it before. Reflecting on my own competence in the English language, I noticed that I had actually never made use of the subjunctive, apart from the past conditional - *If I were*. Consequently, I wanted to find out more about it and the idea to write my diploma thesis about it was born. In Professor Nikolaus Ritt I found someone who was interested in the topic as well, and I was glad that he became my adviser.

I began to read articles and reference books about the subjunctive and learned that in Old English, the subjunctive had been formally distinct from the indicative in all persons but the first person. In the later periods, however, the subjunctive and the indicative began to merge and could no longer be differentiated from one another, whereby the subjunctive gradually lost frequency and the indicative or alternative constructions, in particular modal verbs, were preferred (see e.g. Hogg 1992).

Therefore, I first wanted to conduct a research on the subjunctive’s development in the Middle English period, as many reference books (e.g. Hogg 1992) explain that the greatest change with regard to the subjunctive’s use occurred in this period. However, when I tried to work with the Penn Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, I discovered that the amount of data was so enormous that it would go beyond the scope of a diploma thesis. The main problem was that, although I could search for a specific context in which the subjunctive occurred, the subjunctive was still much more frequent in Middle English compared to Contemporary English, and it would have been problematic to do a detailed analysis.

Therefore, I decided to analyse changes in the use of what is known as the mandative subjunctive in relation to modal verbs, which occurred from late Modern English to Contemporary English with the help of two American corpora, the COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English) and the COHA (Corpus of Historical American English). Detailed information on the corpora will be provided in chapter 5. The mandative subjunctive occurs in different constructions, for instance in

dependent clauses governed by matrix verbs that express a wish, a command, an order etc., but also in formulaic expressions of wishes, as, for example, in *God save the Queen*. The main problem with the subjunctive today is that it is formally indistinguishable from the indicative in most contexts. In Contemporary English, the subjunctive is no longer a distinct form, but it is indicated by the absence of inflections, i.e. by the absence of the –s in the third person singular of the present tense, except in the case of *be*. Since a category that is formally indistinguishable is difficult to acquire, the prediction for the subjunctive is that it should no longer exist, apart from fixed phrases, such as the above mentioned *God save the Queen* or *Bless you*. Yet, there are some constructions, e.g. modal verbs, which can substitute the subjunctive and fulfil its functions. In other words, what was expressed by the subjunctive in former times is nowadays often denoted by modals. The trend seems to indicate that the subjunctive is declining, and, therefore, the prediction for the subjunctive is that it should also decline in its remaining contexts. For instance, in order to make an order more explicit, the speaker should choose the modal auxiliary *should*.

Under the circumstances mentioned above, i.e. the formal identity with the indicative in all persons but the third person singular of the present tense and the gradual replacement by modal verbs, the question arises as to why the subjunctive still exists at all. The main purpose of my thesis will therefore be to try to find an answer to this question. It makes sense to investigate this, as many researchers already speak of an extinction of the subjunctive. One of them is Palmer, who claims that “English has no subjunctive.” (1984: 200 quoted in Övergaard 1995: 38). Yet, as I said, it can still be found in certain contexts. Thus, it is interesting to find out why the subjunctive is so persistent in these contexts and what the reasons are for this persistence.

I decided to work with the COHA and the COCA, as both corpora permit the search of specific contexts in which the subjunctive occurs. Moreover, it is possible in these corpora to analyse the changes that occurred over time, as they indicate the year of publication for each example. However, the main reason for choosing these corpora was that they are easily accessible and contain a huge amount of data, which makes them suitable.

2. Introduction

In this thesis, I will use the term subjunctive to refer to a form which is inflectionally distinct from the indicative and which is only visible in a few constructions today. I am going to look at the mandative subjunctive, i.e. the subjunctive that occurs in those contexts where the superordinate clause, i.e. the main clause, contains a matrix verb which expresses a wish, a command, an order etc., and where the desired event is described in the subordinate clause. Some examples of the mandative subjunctive from my data would be, *Hamilton advised that this request be bluntly refused* (COHA, Atlantic Magazine, 1870s) or *We intend that the union go on* (COCA, PBS Newshour, 1990s). The first sentence contains the *be* subjunctive, which is typical for passive clauses. In the second case, the subjunctive can be distinguished from the indicative by the missing third person ending.

As I already illustrated above, in former times, i.e. in Old English, there was a formal difference between the subjunctive and the indicative in all persons but the first person singular of the present tense, i.e. the subjunctive and the indicative had distinct inflectional endings. During the Middle English period, however, the forms of the two moods merged in all persons but the third person singular, so the inflectional difference between the subjunctive and the indicative was lost and they could no longer be distinguished. Consequently, in order to make the distinction clear, the subjunctive started to be replaced by modal constructions (see e.g. Hogg 1992). In Contemporary English, the only remaining subjunctive forms are the conditional *were* and the mandative subjunctive in the present tense, which is visible only in the third person singular and in the forms of the verb *be*. Thus, there is an on-going competition between the subjunctive and other modal periphrases. The question of how this competition has unfolded since 1810 will be a crucial point of this study. According to several researchers (e.g. Romaine 1998, James 1983, Harsh 1968), American English has experienced a comeback of the subjunctive. The central question for my research will, therefore, be which factors influence the choice of the subjunctive and how these factors changed over time.

In the following section I am going to establish my hypotheses, in each case first stating the hypothesis and then explaining which problem it deals with and why it is

interesting to test it. The establishment of hypotheses makes sense as it allows for a list of concrete questions in relation to my main question of why the subjunctive still exists in English. These questions can then be tested with the help of my data and I hope to be able to answer my main question on the basis of the (non-)validity of my hypotheses.

My hypotheses for this thesis are the following:

Hypothesis 1: The subjunctive occurs more often in the third person singular than in the other persons. As I explained above, this is the only context in which it can clearly be distinguished from the indicative. The assumption that arises from this is that in those contexts in which the subjunctive is formally different from the indicative, there should be fewer modals. In these contexts, the speaker should still make use of the subjunctive, as the form expresses the meaning of wish, etc. and therefore, no modal verb is needed to make explicit that the speaker is conveying a wish. In other words, fewer modals should occur with a third person singular subject.

This hypothesis is meaningful, as the subjunctive is declining and it can be assumed that it is less endangered in those contexts in which it is distinguishable and therefore still useful.

So far, I acted on the assumption that speakers use either the subjunctive or a modal verb in order to clarify that their statement is a wish, command, etc. However, the problem with this assumption is that interlocutors usually already recognise a command through the verb. The verb of the subordinate clause already expresses that the statement is a wish, etc., so there is in fact no need for an additional verb form or construction in the dependent clause, which expresses the same notion again. Consequently, in sentences in which the matrix verb already denotes an order, etc. and in which this is repeated in the dependent clause by a subjunctive or modal, the sentence is over-marked. Thus, the question arises as to why speakers over-mark their statements by forms that are not really necessary and whether it is not actually the base form that should be preferred in these contexts. Therefore, I am not only going to investigate the relationship between subjunctives and modal verbs in the third person singular, but also the frequency of base forms in general. In relation

to this, the question of whether the ratio between the subjunctive and the modal verbs has been constant over the last two centuries or whether it changed will be investigated, too.

Hypothesis 2: The choice of the subjunctive depends on the matrix verb due to pure lexical solidarity. Here, the questions of what lexical solidarity is and whether it exists at all arises. By lexical solidarity I mean that certain words prefer to co-occur with certain other words. An example of lexical solidarity would be the so-called “collocations”. A collocation is a pair of words, which co-occur so frequently that this co-occurrence can be said to be more than accidental (cf. e.g. Bateni 2010). Some examples of collocations are *Merry Christmas* and *Happy New Year*. Both *merry* and *happy* have similar meanings, but nobody would ever say *Happy Christmas* or *Merry New Year*. Thus, *Merry* and *Christmas* are always used together and form a collocation. For my research, this means that I am going to check whether certain matrix verbs form collocations with the subjunctive or with modal verbs and whether frequency plays a role, i.e. whether the frequent co-occurrence of a verb with the subjunctive results in a collocation of the two. An example for a collocation with the subjunctive could be the phrase *God save the Queen*. Here, the assumption could be that a request frequently co-occurs with the subjunctive and that, therefore, verbs expressing commands collocate with the subjunctive. In other words, in this hypothesis I assume that some of the matrix verbs in my data show a trend to collocate with the subjunctive, whereas others collocate with modals. Here, the development of the choice over time for each verb will be analysed, as well.

As concerns the matrix verb *advise*, it is special, as it can have both a mandative and a non-mandative meaning. Comparing the statements *I was advised that swimming in the sea is forbidden* and *I was advised that I must not swim in the sea*, the first one is non-mandative, whereas the second is mandative. Both sentences express the same meaning, although *advised* has the meaning of ‘informing’ in the first one and ‘forbidding’ and ‘ordering’ in the second. Consequently, in order to point out that one is making an order, the speaker will use a modal like *must* or *should* to exclude misunderstandings. Therefore, the assumption for *advise* will be that it occurs more often with modal verbs than with the subjunctive or with the base form in a mandative context.

Hypothesis 3: The choice of the subjunctive depends on the voice of the dependent clause. The subjunctive occurs more often in passive sentences than in active ones. The question of why this should be the case can be answered by the fact that in passive constructions, the subjunctive is formed with the auxiliary *be*, which is the same in all persons. Therefore, the subjunctive is formally distinct from the indicative in all persons and will consequently be used for all persons. As a result, the subjunctive should be more frequent in passive sentences than in active ones, where only the third person is formally different from the indicative. A similar hypothesis can be found in González-Alvarez (2003: 309), who points out that “the strong tendency for the subjunctive to co-occur with the passive in PDE has been interpreted as a proof of the subjunctive’s formal nature”. In other terms, formality influences the choice of the passive voice and consequently the choice of the subjunctive, which therefore seems to be more frequent in passive sentences. This hypothesis is slightly different from mine, as González-Alvarez explains the increased use of the subjunctive in passive sentences, not by the nature of the passive itself, but by its formality, which according to her should influence the choice. Consequently, I will not only investigate the frequency of the subjunctive in passives in general, but I am also going to look at the impact of genre to find out whether formality indeed influences which form is chosen. It is meaningful to test this hypothesis, as it is interesting to check whether the subjunctive is a general phenomenon of passive sentences or whether the formality of a text has an impact on the choice, too. The following hypothesis will relate to this one.

Hypothesis 4: The choice of mood depends on the level of formality, i.e. the subjunctive is more frequent in formal genres than in informal ones. Consequently, this suggests that informal genres should contain more modal verbs or indicatives than subjunctives. This hypothesis is also mentioned by Harsh (1968: 81), who states that “subjunctive usage is directly related to literary genre, since the more “literary” texts consistently show significantly higher percentages of subjunctive usage than non-belletristic works.”

This assumption is also confirmed by other researchers, such as Poutsma (1926: 162 quoted in Övergaard 1995: 37), who attributes the subjunctive to literary texts, or

Close (1975: 47 quoted in Övergaard 1995: 37), who defines it as “formal and typical of official style”. For my study, this means that the subjunctive should occur more often in newspapers and academic writing than in magazines or spoken texts.

Hypothesis 5: The choice of the subjunctive is influenced by the tense of the matrix verb. This makes sense because of the notion of “tense agreement”, i.e. if the main clause contains a past tense verb, the subordinate clause should have a past tense, too (cf. e.g. Biber 2002: 152-153 or Close 1995: 45-46). In my case this means that the present subjunctive should occur more often when the matrix verb is in the present tense, whereas in the past tense, the modals *should* or *would* should be used for reasons of tense agreement. Tense agreement is also a typical characteristic of indirect speech, and, as I am dealing with indirect speech in my data (e.g. *She never ever intended that the child would go to Tony Jackett’s family* (CBS 48 Hours, 2000s) vs. *The President clearly intends that gays serve with other males* (National Review, 1990s)), it should indeed be the case that tense agreement is respected and that consequently, the present subjunctive is preferred in present tense sentences. Consider, for instance, the utterance *God sends a prophet to a human group and commands that something should be done* (American Spectator, 2000s). Here, the modal *should* almost feels like a violation of tense agreement. Now the question remains, what alternatives could be used instead. It may be that speakers just ignore tense agreement and use *should* for all tenses, or that they choose *shall* or *must* in the present tense more often. In order to explain why a sentence like *God [...] commands that something should be done* is uttered although it violates tense agreement, it is meaningful to test which tense prefers which forms and whether tense agreement is respected at all.

Hypothesis 6: The distribution of the subjunctive in relation to modal verbs depends on certain factors, as has been illustrated above, and is not random. Only if no correlation between the choice of mood and the context in which it occurs can be found, the null hypothesis of random distribution is valid. In other words, if none of the above hypotheses is true, the distribution of subjunctives and modals in English can be considered to happen accidentally. This hypothesis is more general than the previous ones and is also on a different logical level as its purpose is to find out whether the variation between modals, subjunctives, and base forms is free or

systematic. It is important to try to relate the choice of subjunctives and modal verbs to certain factors, as it would be mere speculation to claim that speakers choose one form or the other purely by chance. Additionally, I assume that each speaker of the English language has a motif for preferring one form over the other, and it will be the main purpose of my thesis to find out what can influence the choice speakers make.

In the above section I presented my hypotheses for this thesis. I chose those hypotheses which are most likely to apply to the distribution of subjunctives and modal verbs, and which were partly also found in the works of other people (e.g. González-Alvarez 2003, Harsh 1968, and Övergaard 1995) and may, therefore, be valid. Apart from these hypotheses, I also came across a number of claims in the literature, some of which I considered necessary to be tested in order to check their truth-value.

Claim 1: Huddleston & Pullum (2002:995 quoted in Bergs & Heine 2010: 111) claim that “In American English, the subjunctive is much more common than the *should* construction.” This claim can easily be tested and the results will indicate whether speakers of American English indeed favour the subjunctive over *should*. It is interesting to check it, especially since it contradicts some other researchers (e.g. Davidsen-Nielsen 1990), who explain that modal verbs are prevalent and the subjunctive only plays a marginal role in English. On the one hand, Claim 1 could be true, as some people (e.g. Romaine 1998, Harsh 1968, and James 1983) speak of a revival of the subjunctive and, therefore, it could indeed be the case that the subjunctive is more frequent than modal verbs again. However, as I said above, still other researchers illustrate the dominance of modals, so it will be particularly interesting to find out which party is right in this struggle.

Claim 2: González-Alvarez (2003: 309) states that “active subjunctives far outnumber passive instances in my early and late Modern English data”. This contradicts her own hypothesis that the subjunctive is more common in passive sentences and, therefore, it will be interesting to test the truth of this claim in relation with Hypothesis 3. Personally, for me it is difficult to judge the validity of this claim, as it could either be the case that the passive collocates with the subjunctive, as stated in Hypothesis

3, or that the subjunctive is not related to voice and occurs frequently in both passive and active sentences.

Claim 3: Övergaard (1995: 37) claims that “during the twentieth century there has been an almost complete reversal to the non-inflected subjunctive in noun clauses in mandative sentences in AmE.” This is similar to Claim 1 and also confirms what, for instance, Romaine, Harsh and James say about the recent development of the subjunctive. As concerns the truth of this claim, the same applies to it as to Claim 1, namely that it could be true for the reasons explained above, but it could also be wrong, as other researchers contradict it. This again makes it interesting to test.

Claim 4: Davidsen-Nielsen (1990:105): “its [the subjunctive’s] original functions have largely been taken over by modal verbs.” This clearly contradicts Claim 1 and Claim 3, but sounds probable, as other people claim similar things. Romaine (1998: 160), for instance, also informs that “syntactically its functions were being lost either to the indicative or to the modal verbs”. Yet, other researchers speak of a decline of modal verbs, e.g. Leech (2003: 223), who states that “the English modal auxiliaries as a group have been declining significantly in their frequency of use”, whereby Davidsen-Nielsen’s utterance seems improbable again. Therefore, I want to clarify who is saying the truth by checking this claim.

Now that I have established my hypotheses and illustrated the claims I am going to test in this thesis, I am going to continue with a review of former studies that have been conducted on my topic in order to show what other people have found out so far. I will also use the next part of my thesis to define important terms and concepts that I will be using in the analysis of my data.

3. Theoretical preliminaries

Before I discuss the results of my research in detail, it will be necessary to review the results of the research of other people that has been conducted so far. First, I will begin with a definition of the general notions “tense” and “aspect”. Then, I will turn to the distinction between “mood” and “modality”, which will be relevant for my study.

Finally, I will present what other researchers found out about modal verbs and the subjunctive and what they say about recent developments in modality.

3.1. Tense

As the term “subjunctive mood” suggests, the subjunctive belongs to the category of mood, which is distinct from that of “tense” and “aspect”. Thus, it will be important to define “tense” and “aspect” in order to clarify the difference from “mood”.

Legault (1982: 87) explains the term “tense” by quoting a definition from Hockett, who states that “tenses typically show different locations of an event in time”. Davidsen-Nielsen (1990:59) provides a similar definition when he says that “tense relates the time of the event described by the verb to some other time”. Shankara (1999: 13) agrees that tense serves to locate a certain situation in time and adds that it is indicated by an inflectional ending of verbs and that it needs another event as reference point which happened earlier, at the same time or later, in order to place the denoted event in time. Moreover, Shankara (ibid: 14) differentiates between deictic tenses, for which the moment in which the statement is made serves as reference point, and non-deictic tenses, which refer to a different event in order to locate the utterance in time.

In a different study by Davidsen-Nielsen (1990: 54), the author notes that tense can be expressed grammatically by inflection or auxiliaries, and that it is portrayed on the morphological level by the form of a verb. He furthermore illustrates that the English language has two different tenses, present and past, which he subdivides into eight tenses, present, present perfect, past, past perfect, future, future perfect, future of the past, and future perfect of the past (ibid: 55). Later, Davidsen-Nielsen explains that, while some tenses are formed by means of inflectional endings only, others are constructed with auxiliaries only, and still others use a combination of the two (ibid: 56).

To sum up, the main quality of a tense is that it locates an event in time by relating it to a different event. As this does not apply to the subjunctive, it can be said that the subjunctive is definitely not a tense. My definition of tense will be that of Davidsen-

Nielsen, as it is simple, yet precise enough to inform on the central function of tenses. Although “tense” is not directly relevant to my research question, I included its definition in my thesis to point out that the subjunctive is not a tense, but that it is part of another category, that of “mood”. However, there exists a difference between present and past subjunctive forms. Consider, for instance, the forms *that he do* and *if I were*. The first is a present subjunctive, whereas the second is a past subjunctive. Since the form *were* is the only remaining past subjunctive form which can be differentiated from the indicative and which occurs mainly in conditionals, I am going to focus on the present subjunctive, which can be distinguished in the third person singular and in the forms of *be* in mandative subclauses.

3.2. Aspect

“Aspect” is another category that is separate from “tense” and “mood” and I am going to illustrate the difference to these categories in the following section. Legault (1982: 87) states that aspect is concerned with “the temporal distribution or contour” of an incident. Shankara (1999: 43) defines the term in a similar way, explaining that it describes “the way in which the event occurs in time” and adds that for an on-going event, the imperfective aspect is used, whereas for a completed event, the perfective aspect is employed. In the perfective aspect, an event is regarded from outside, while it is seen from inside in the imperfective aspect (ibid: 45).

Another important concept related to aspect is introduced by Smessaert (2007: 30), namely that of aspectual distance, which he defines as “the distance between the temporal reference point [...] and the polarity transitions of beginning or ending”, i.e. the speaker may refer to a moment which is long before the beginning or shortly before the ending. Moreover, Smessaert (ibid: 32) illustrates that if an event is evaluated negatively, it does not make any progress and therefore lacks speed, whereas if it is evaluated in a positive way, it is considered to make progress and to have speed. In other terms, if there is no speed, there is no progress, and if speed is present, progress is present, too.

Since the subjunctive does not differentiate between on-going and completed events, and since it does not relate to distance, speed or progress, it can be excluded from

the category of “aspect”. Although “tense” and “aspect” are not directly relevant to my research question, I included their definitions in my thesis to point out that the subjunctive is neither a tense nor an aspect, but that it is part of another category, that of “mood”.

3.3. Mood

The English language traditionally differentiates between three different moods: the indicative, the subjunctive and the imperative. Before going into detail about the concept of “mood”, it will be necessary to explain the difference between “mood” and “modality”. In the present study, I will be interested in both notions. On the one hand, “mood” is relevant because of the subjunctive, which belongs to this category, but on the other hand, “modality” is important, too, since it includes the modal verbs. In other words, “mood” in the form of the subjunctive and “modality” in the form of the modal verbs are competing with each other in mandative subordinate clauses, so both concepts are central to my research question, since they hang together in the problem I am investigating.

According to Palmer (1986: 21-22), mood is an inflectional category, whereas modality is a typological one. In other words, mood is indicated on the morphological level of verbs, in contrast to modality, which need not necessarily be restricted to morphology, as it may also be denoted by modal verbs or particles. Moreover, while modality is a common phenomenon of all languages, the category of mood only exists in some languages.

As concerns mood usage, Davidsen-Nielsen (1990:73) states that “by modalizing an utterance, the speaker indicates that he is speculating about it”. Legault (1982: 88), furthermore, defines moods as “show[ing] differing degrees of reality, desirability, or contingency of an event”. This is also the definition I will be using, as it best sums up the functions of moods. Legault additionally differentiates between five modalities: the imperative, which, according to her is expressed by *must*, the jussive, which is expressed by *should* and *ought*, the concessive, which is expressed by *may*, *might* and *can*, the potential, which is expressed by *can*, *could*, *may* and *might*, and the probable, which is expressed by *must*, *should*, *ought*, *has to* and *will* (ibid: 113-114). The reason for including this distinction in this section is that it illustrates some of the

functions that are fulfilled by modal verbs, but also by the subjunctive. In the chapters on modal verbs and the subjunctive that will come later in this thesis, I will elaborate on this in more detail.

Davidson-Nielsen (1990:43) provides a different definition of mood and states that it expresses “what is possible, what is necessary, what is probable, what is conceivable, and the like”. In his point of view, mood emerged because speakers often pretend or assume that a situation is different from what it really is (ibid: 44). I agree with this statement, which I wanted to include here, as it refers to the main purpose of the subjunctive and I will be dealing with many statements about such unreal situations that Davidson-Nielsen talks about.

Additionally, Shankara (1999: 63) explains that mood is used to denote “the actuality of an event” and lists the following three parameters for modal distinctions:

“a speaker’s opinion or *judgement* regarding the actuality of an event,
kind of *evidence* that is available for the speaker to form this judgement,
kind of *need* or requirement which forces the speaker [...] to get involved in an event [...]”

According to Shankara (ibid), the first two of these points refer to “epistemic” or “knowledge-based moods”, whereas the third point refers to “deontic” or “action-based moods”. The epistemic moods are concerned with the knowledge of the speaker, on the basis of which he judges an event, whereas the deontic moods deal with “the kind of compulsion which makes it possible or necessary for an event to take place”, i.e. “ability, willingness, desire, necessity, request and order” (ibid: 75).

This piece of information is important for my research, as I will be dealing with all the moods mentioned above and the sentences in my data will convey all the notions (necessity etc.) enumerated by Shankara.

Shankara also comments on the distinction in the epistemic mood between realis and irrealis, i.e. between events that are considered to be actually happening and events that are “still within the realm of thought” (ibid: 65). This differentiation is relevant to my study, as the subjunctive is typically associated with irrealis events.

With regard to the category of irrealis, Salkie (2009: 92) adds that it consists of three subcategories, the first of which is mood, which includes the indicative and the subjunctive and which indicates whether a statement is asserted. Evidentiality, on the other hand, denotes whether an utterance is true or inferred from hearsay, whereas modality shows whether the speaker talks about the real world or a possible world. As I already pointed out, for my study mood and modality will be most important.

3.4. Modality

In this section, I will give an overview of various definitions of modality, which are relevant for the understanding of the functions of modal verbs on the one hand, but also for the subjunctive, as it expresses similar ideas.

Dillon (1982: 3) defines modality as mirroring the “attitude of the speaker”. Larreya (2009: 9), on the other hand, refers to modality “as a mental system [...] based on the mutually related concepts *possibility* and *necessity*”, which he calls the “core of modality”. I personally think that both Dillon and Larreya mention important functions and characteristics of modality. Therefore, their definitions need to be combined, in my opinion, in order to be complete, and I will use both definitions for my research.

Larreya, furthermore, differentiates between root modality and epistemic modality, whereupon the former deals with affect and/or action and the second deals with knowledge (ibid: 11). Root modality is further subdivided into physical and deontic modality, which Larreya defines as “physical constraint/possibility and moral constraint/possibility” (ibid: 13), the boundaries between the two being rather foggy. Epistemic modality, then, is subdivided into problematic and implicative modality, which are both related to the truth-value of an utterance. Yet, they include not only the two extremes of “true” and “false”, but also the notions of “probable” and “possible”. Larreya (ibid: 13) refers to the term “implication” as “a relation which can be paraphrased as *if... then...*, and which is established between two propositions,” and states that implicative modality deals with the categories of “true” and “false”, which are “absolute truth-values” (ibid: 14), while problematic modality is concerned with the “weak” truth-values “probable” and “possible”.

These distinctions are important for my research, as I will be dealing with the types of modality illustrated by Larreya and my data will inter alia consist of statements about possibility, necessity, and probability.

Davidson-Nielsen (1990: 44) adds some further characteristics of the modal verbs and the subjunctive, explaining that epistemic modality has to do with “rational laws of inference and deduction”, whereas deontic modality deals with “social or institutional laws”. He also includes a third modality, the “dynamic” modality, which he defines as being “concerned with the relationship between empirical circumstances and the states of affairs following from them, that is, with natural laws.” Although these definitions are quite abstract, they are relevant for me, as I will be concerned with the three modalities Davidson-Nielsen talks about and the sentences in my data will probably refer to rational, institutional, and natural laws, too.

As for dynamic modality, Palmer (1979: 71-73) subdivides it into dynamic possibility, which is expressed by *can* and *be able to*, and which conveys either neutral possibility, i.e. that something is possible, ability or implication, and dynamic necessity, which is expressed by *must*, *have (got) to*, *should*, *ought (to)*, and *need* (ibid: 91-93). Here, some further functions of modal verbs are enumerated that will be important for my research.

Moreover, Davidson- Nielsen (1990: 46) states that modality is expressed on the morphological level in the case of the subjunctive and the imperative, while it is expressed on the syntactic level when auxiliaries are used. He declares that the subjunctive today is mostly employed in formal style and idiomatic expressions and that it has been replaced by modal verbs in most contexts (ibid: 47). Whether this is true, however, will be investigated later in this study.

Haan presents another model of modality by Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994:177 quoted in Haan 2006:30). They differentiate between four different modalities: the epistemic modality, which is concerned with what is possible and what is probable, the subordinate moods, which include the subjunctive, and which occur in subordinate clauses, e.g. concessive and purposive clauses, agent-oriented modality, which includes obligation, necessity, ability, desire and root possibility, and

denotes that “the agent of a clause is influenced in some way in performing the action described in the clause” (Haan 2006: 30), and finally, speaker-oriented modality, which comprehends directives, imperatives, prohibitions, optatives, admonitions and permissions and means that the speaker allows or orders something (ibid: 31). This model presents another distinction between the various functions of modal verbs, and, therefore, I have included it here.

Although not all of the following information is relevant for this thesis, I will include all of it to present a complete account of modality: apart from the categories of modality illustrated above, Nuyts (2006: 8-9) adds that alethic modality is a subcategory of epistemic modality and refers to the truth of a statement, whereas epistemic modality refers to knowledge. Furthermore, he defines volition as being either a subcategory of deontic or dynamic modality, and states that it is concerned with desires (ibid: 9). Evidentiality, on the other hand, involves “an indication of the nature of the sources of information which the speaker [...] has to assume or accept the existence of in the state of affairs expressed in the clause” (Chafe and Nichols 1986 and Willett 1988 quoted in Nuyts 2006:10). The last category that Nuyts (ibid: 12) describes is that of boulomaic modality or attitude, which denotes whether the speaker likes the situation he talks about or not.

Finally, Hermerén (1978: 98) illustrates another categorisation of modality, which is important, as it refers to the possible functions of modal verbs again. Herméren establishes three subcategories: the so-called internal modalities, which include determination, intention, willingness and ability, the neutral modalities, among which can be found certainty, prediction, probability and possibility, and the external modalities, which consist of necessity, suggestions, appropriateness, want, hope and permission.

3.5. Modal verbs

Now that I have explained the general distinction between mood and modality in the previous sections, I will go into detail on modal verbs in this section.

Modal verbs belong to the larger set of auxiliaries. As regards this verbal category, Davidsen-Nielsen (1990: 15) explains that the functions fulfilled by morphology in former days, i.e. through inflections, have mostly been taken over by syntax and are expressed on the lexical level nowadays. For this purpose, the English language disposes of different grammatical means, one of them being the auxiliaries, the so-called “helping verbs”. This is important, as it describes the fate of the subjunctive, which has been an inflectional form in Old English and has been replaced by the modal verbs in the course of history.

Davidsen-Nielsen (ibid: 22), moreover, portrays an analysis by Spang-Hanssen, who establishes four criteria that distinguish auxiliaries from main verbs, the first of which is that auxiliaries have a general and abstract meaning and that their “content is analyzable in terms of temporal, aspectual, modal, or diathetic values”. Moreover, auxiliaries are functionally dependent, i.e. if they are modified, the lexical verbs that occur with them need to be modified, as well. The third criterion by Spang-Hanssen is that “[t]he addition of an aux. does not affect the lexical restrictions of the verb it combines with” (ibid: 22), and finally, auxiliaries always take a bare infinitive or a participle. By explaining these criteria, I wanted to point out that modal verbs are different from main verbs.

Additionally, Collins (2009: 14) differentiates between two categories of modal verbs: the so-called “central” modals, which include *may*, *must*, *can*, *will*, and *shall* (as well as their past tense counterparts *might*, *could*, *should*, and *would*), and the so-called “marginal” modals, which comprise *need*, *dare*, *ought (to)*, and *used to*. In my study, I am going to focus on the “central” modals, as they are much more frequent than the “marginal” ones, which occur so rarely in the data that it is not possible to draw substantiated conclusions on their development.

According to Palmer (1986: 33), the modal verbs, like other auxiliaries, show the NICE properties, negation, inversion of the subject and the auxiliary, “code”, which Collins (2009: 12) defines as “post-verbal ellipsis dependent for its interpretation upon previous contexts” and emphasis, which involves contrastive stress. Yet, Palmer (1986: 33-34) also identifies a set of characteristics which modal verbs have in common and which distinguish them from other auxiliaries, namely that they never

appear in pairs, that the third person singular is not indicated by an -s, that they only have finite forms and that they cannot be used in an imperative form. Furthermore, *must* is the only modal without past tense form and some modals have suppletive negative forms (e.g. *needn't* for *must*), and finally, “there are formal differences between the modal verbs, [...], in terms of negation and tense” (ibid: 34).

Collins (2009: 13) adds some more properties of modal verbs, namely that there are no non-tensed forms, i.e. they have no bare infinitive or participle, that there is no person-number agreement, that they always occur with a bare infinitival, and that they are used in unreal conditionals and in the unreal preterite. I included this information to give a detailed account on the characteristics of modal verbs.

Hermerén (1978: 63) furthermore explains Twaddell's distinction between paired modals (*can-could*, *shall-should*, *may-might*, *will-would*) and unpaired modals, and also points out the difference between full forms and curtailed forms (e.g. *shan't*, *can't*, *won't*), which are “reductions of full forms” (ibid: 64). Moreover, he illustrates that negative forms, in which *not* is reduced to *n't* and added to the modal, are not the same as negated forms, in which *not* remains unchanged and is distinct from the modal, with the exception of *cannot* (ibid: 64). In this thesis, I will deal with both paired and unpaired modals, but mostly with full forms, as curtailed forms are relatively rare in the data. The reason for this may be that the majority of texts in the corpora belong to written genres, where curtailed forms do not occur that often.

In her research on the meaning of modal verbs, Ehrmann (1966: 74) states that *can* denotes that there is no obstacle to the occurrence of the prediction, whereas *may* means the same and additionally “there is no guarantee that the prediction will not occur.” *Will* and *shall* express that the prediction is assured to happen, while *should* and *ought to* indicate that “the prediction conforms to the speaker's or writer's view of some aspect(s) of the state of the world”. *Must* and *need*, finally, convey that something in the world necessitates the prediction. These are some further functions of modal verbs, which cannot be expressed by the subjunctive with similar precision, and which, therefore, explain the necessity of modals.

In his study of the English modal system, Suzuki (1982: 41) discusses epistemic and root modals and explains that they refer to the truth-value of a statement. He adds a further distinction within the class of root modals by Palmer (1974: 100), who differentiates between subject-oriented modals, which deal with an “activity, quality or status of the subject” (1982: 42) of the utterance, discourse-oriented modals, which refer to “the part played by one of the participants in the discourse” (ibid), and circumstance-oriented modals, which allude to an “activity, quality or status of a circumstance” (ibid). In this study, I will be dealing with all types of modals mentioned above, whereby it was necessary to explain the terms here. In the following section, I will present a detailed account on the various meanings of the individual modals.

According to Suzuki (1982: 45), *can* and *could* belong to the class of epistemic modals if they denote possibility or invite to an action in the future. If, on the other hand, *can* expresses a permission or an ability, it is part of the root modals, the former meaning being circumstance-oriented, the latter being subject-oriented. In the case of *could*, there are always two different meanings: either a “past indicative form denoting past factual possibility/[permission/ability] or a past subjunctive form meaning present hypothetical possibility/[permission/ability]” (ibid: 87).

May and *might* (ibid: 50) denoting strong possibility appertain to the epistemic class, whereas, if they convey a permission or a benediction or malediction, they are discourse-oriented root modals (ibid: 51-53, 90-91). What distinguishes *may* from *can* is that the possibility in *can* relates to theoretical evidence, while in *may* it relates to factual evidence (ibid: 50). Additionally, *may* can express a purpose, concession, expectation, wish, dream or fear (ibid: 51). *Might*, furthermore, allows for two contexts, a “past indicative form meaning past factual strong possibility/[permission], or a past subjunctive form meaning present hypothetical strong possibility/[permission]” (ibid: 90).

Epistemic *must* denotes a logical necessity, in contrast to the discourse-oriented *must* of obligation (Suzuki 1982: 55). The same is true for *have to*, except that it is circumstance-oriented when it expresses obligation (ibid: 56-57). *Need* is the counterpart of *must* and *have to*, which is used in negations or questions (ibid: 58). The difference between *must not* and *need not/don't have to* is that the first is used

for ordering somebody not to do something, whereas the others denote that the other person is not obliged to do something (ibid).

As for *will* and *would*, they have numerous functions. While they refer to the future in their epistemic sense, they convey a prediction as discourse-oriented root modals (ibid: 60). Furthermore, they can express willingness (weak volition), intention (intermediate volition) or insistence (strong volition), in these cases being subject-oriented (ibid: 63-65). Additionally, epistemic *would* is used in a hypothetical context (ibid: 97). Similar to the other past tense modals, *would* may refer to two contexts, a “past indicative form meaning past factual prediction/[willingness/intention/insistence], or a past subjunctive form meaning present hypothetical prediction/[willingness/intention/insistence]” (ibid: 93-95).

Like *will* and *would*, *shall* in its epistemic use refers to the future and has different meanings within the class of root modals. It is always discourse-oriented and denotes either predictability, willingness, intention or insistence (ibid: 66-68).

Its past tense equivalent, *should*, is always epistemic and can be employed in a nominative sense or in order to convey high probability (similar to *ought to*) or hypotheses (ibid: 99-101).

As regards *will* and *shall*, Palmer (1986: 216) adds that they are rarely used as a future time marker only and that they may express a variety of meanings, which include volition, “power”, habit, conditions, implicit condition, planned action and epistemic modality.

Gotti (2003: 275-76) also elaborates on the uses of *shall* and *will* and notices similar results, pointing out that the two modals denote volition and necessity in their deontic sense, whereas epistemic *will* is used in inferences (ibid: 285). In the context of dynamic modality, *shall* expresses a prediction, while *will* additionally conveys a habit and a possibility (ibid: 288).

Now that I have explained the different functions of each modal verb, I am going to introduce another aspect presented by Collins (2009: 15). He establishes the

category of “quasi-modals”, which are separated from other modals through “the presence or absence of speaker involvement” and which consist inter alia of *have to*, *be allowed to*, *be to*, and *be supposed to*.

Moreover, Collins illustrates the concept of “degree of modality” by Huddleston and Pullum (2002:179 quoted in Collins 2009: 27), who explain it as “the extent to which there is a clearly identifiable and separable element of modal meaning”. A low degree of modality would be the case when the embedded clause already expresses a modal meaning and the modal verb itself is no longer absolutely necessary. As I already stated above, if the main clause contains a verb of wishing or commanding, the dependent clause, in fact, does not necessarily need a subjunctive or modal verb repeating this notion, so the majority of sentences in my data will actually show a low degree of modality.

To finish the section on the characteristics and functions of modal verbs, I would like to quote Salkie (2009:88) who summarizes the criteria for core modals:

“They express possibility and necessity, [t]hey are epistemic or deontic, [t]hey are subjective, involving commitment by the speaker, primary pragmatic processes and a sharp distinction between the modal expression and the propositional content, [t]hey are located at one of the extremes of a modal scale”.

In the following section I am going to present the developments and changes that have affected modal verbs in the course of the last centuries.

Traugott (2006: 124) observes the most significant changes in the English modal system, stating that modal adverbials, which were known since the Old English period, became progressively more frequent in Middle English and this trend still continues. Within the auxiliary system, two major developments have taken place in the course of the last decades, namely *might* was replaced by *may* in counterfactual main clauses, and the use of modal perfects, e.g. *could have* (ibid: 125). Additionally, semi-modals, modals constructed with *to*, are currently increasing and Traugott (ibid: 127) even suggests that they could take the place of core modals one day, although

this evolution is very slow. Traugott's observation is important, as it summarises the history of modal verbs and provides a forecast on their future.

Also Bergs and Heine (2010: 105) describe the evolution of modals and notice that the modal verbs were increasingly used during the Middle English period when the grammatical indication of mood that had existed in Old English vanished. Old English had had an elaborate verbal system, including specific morphological mood markers, which means that the imperative and the subjunctive were clearly distinct from the indicative (ibid: 107). In the course of the Middle English period, however, English was characterised by a significant reduction of inflections, thus the subjunctive merged with the indicative in all forms but the third person singular of the present tense (ibid). Moreover, while auxiliaries had been rare in Old English, they show a considerable increase in Middle English. This again explains the reasons for the decline of the subjunctive and the rise of modal verbs.

An interesting aspect, which is not relevant to my research, but which I would nevertheless like to include, is an observation of Beukema and van der Wurff (2002: 75), who notice in relation to Middle English that "[i]n late Middle English, modal verbs occur in a construction with an at that time already exceptional object-verb order." They furthermore observe that the word order changed from OV in Old English to VO in the course of the Middle English period (ibid: 76) and explain that, while in Old English the verb was always at the end of an embedded clause (ibid: 77), the OV order was limited to a certain number of contexts, e.g. an auxiliary followed by a negative object, during the 15th century (ibid: 80). Finally, they illustrate that the change in word order occurred in three stages: from the 14th century, where all objects came before the verb, over the 15th century, where the contexts of preverbal objects decreased considerably, to the 16th century, where all objects were found after the verb (ibid: 95-96). This illustrates that Middle English was not only characterised by changes on the inflectional level, but also on the syntactic level, which may have been caused by the emergence of modal verbs, which may have necessitated a different word order in English sentences.

At the end of this chapter on modal verbs, I would like to present some results of recent research on modals. Leech (2003: 223) conducted a research on grammatical

change and claims that the modal verbs in English have undergone a dramatic decrease in frequency from 1961 to 1992. He based his study on four corpora, two for British English (LOB and F-LOB) and two for American English (Brown and Frown), the former of each variety covering the 1960s, the latter covering the 1990s. Presenting his results, Leech (ibid: 228) points out that the frequency of the various modals is unequal, yet in the American corpora, each modal declined in the course of the period under investigation. Overall, there are three modals that decreased significantly, namely *may*, *should*, and *must* (ibid: 232). One reason, which Leech states for this development, is “a tendency for modals to become “more monosemous” – in other words, one sense tends to dominate, in frequency, over others” (ibid: 235). This is important as the decline of modals may also be visible in my data and may, therefore, affect my results.

Finally, Krug (2000: 169) also investigated the changes currently affecting the system of modal verbs and found that there are four so-called “emerging modals”: *have to*, *(have) got to*, *want to*, and *(be) going to*. He claims that considerable changes have occurred with these modals in the period from 1850 to 1950, both in American and British English. Moreover, Krug states that there has been an on-going divergence in the use of modals between American and British English since the 19th century and that changes usually start in American English. Additionally, changes can first be observed in informal genres (including spoken language and drama), which are generally more prone to variation than formal genres (e.g. academic writing), yet other genres are currently beginning to change, as well (ibid: 197). This information is relevant to my research for various reasons. First, the core modals may be declining in my data under the influence of the “emerging modals”. Second, it will be interesting to investigate whether the informal genres in my data indeed mirror the changes described by Krug. Third, it would be interesting to analyse the difference between American and British English. Yet, the BNC (British National Corpus) does not permit a similar search and analysis as the two American corpora, whereby I decided not to include British English in my study and to focus on American English only.

In this chapter, I have illustrated the properties and functions of modal verbs, as well as the findings of recent research on this verbal category. In the next chapter, I am going to turn to the subjunctive and present its origins in other languages, its

development from Old English to Contemporary English, and the results of other people's studies on the subjunctive.

3.6. Subjunctive

Before I comment on the subjunctive in English, I would like to talk briefly about the subjunctive in ancient Greek and Latin to point out the similarities and differences to the English language.

3.6.1. The subjunctive in Greek and Latin

Hahn (1953: 4) portrays the functions of the subjunctive in classical Greek and explains that it expressed objective possibility, in contrast to the optative, which expressed subjective possibility. In other words, the subjunctive viewed an event as conditioned, whereas the optative viewed it as conceived (ibid: 4). She furthermore presents Delbrück's thesis, in which he claimed that the subjunctive had the function of denoting futurity, while the optative denoted a wish (ibid: 6). Auwera and Schalley (2004: 89), on the other hand, identify six uses of the subjunctive: conditional, temporal, relative, hortative, prohibitive, and deliberative, and equally six uses of the optative: potential, counterfactual, deferential, volitive (wish), volitive (order), and oblique. This shows that ancient Greek had two distinct forms, which fulfilled the functions that the subjunctive today fulfills alone. The English subjunctive expresses both objective and subjective possibility and nowadays functions more like the Greek optative in that it denotes wishes, whereas it has no futural use like the Greek subjunctive. Moreover, while the English subjunctive still has similar functions as in Greek, it no longer has a distinct form, apart from some remainders.

The Latin subjunctive, however, was not entirely similar to the Greek subjunctive according to Hahn (1953: 18), who illustrates this with the help of Kroll's argument that the Latin subjunctive combined the functions of will, wish, and futurity (ibid: 26-27). In other words, the Latin subjunctive assumed the role of the old Indo-European future (ibid: 28). Auwera and Schalley (2004: 87-88) add six uses of the Latin subjunctive: imperative, jussive, concessive, potential, deliberative, and optative. Thus, in Latin, the subjunctive had functions similar to the English one, too, but was also used to refer to the future, which is not the case with the English subjunctive. I

decided to include some information on the Greek and Latin subjunctive to illustrate that modality was expressed by inflection in former times, not only in English, but also in other languages. In other words, in Latin the subjunctive was a separate form with separate functions, too, whereas in Modern English it only has special functions, but no distinct form (apart from some exceptions). In the following section, I am going to discuss the role of the subjunctive in other European languages today.

3.6.2. Other European Languages

Before I turn to the historical development of the subjunctive in English, I would like to provide a brief account on the subjunctive in other European languages. Today, the subjunctive is still actively used in Romance languages, e.g. French, Italian, or Spanish. As I also study French, I am going to focus on the French subjunctive in this section.

In French, it is crucial to distinguish between regular verbs (e.g. *manger*, to eat) and irregular verbs (*faire*, to make). Whereas the subjunctive has a similar fate as in English with regular verbs, in which it is only different from the indicative in the first and second person plural (*nous mangeons* vs. *nous mangions* and *vous mangez* vs. *vous mangiez*), it has distinct forms in all persons with irregular verbs (*je fais* vs. *je fasse*, *tu fais* vs. *tu fasses*, *nous faisons* vs. *nous fassions* etc.). Apart from these slight differences in formality, the French subjunctive fulfils similar functions as the English one. It also occurs in dependent clauses expressing a wish etc., but additionally it is triggered by certain conjunctions such as *bien que* (although) or *avant que* (before). Furthermore, negated verbs expressing an opinion, as in *je ne crois pas que* or *je ne trouve pas que*, demand the subjunctive. To sum up, what distinguishes the French subjunctive from the English is that it has distinct forms in all persons with irregular verbs and that it has certain triggers, which demand it. The central functions, however, namely that of expressing wishes, etc., are shared by the subjunctive in both languages. Finally, the main purpose of this digression to French was to point out that the subjunctive is still alive (also more alive than in English) and used productively in other European languages. Now, I will finally turn to the historical development of the subjunctive in English.

3.6.3. Historical development

3.6.3.1. Old English (beginnings to 1066)

The Cambridge history of the English language (Hogg 1992: 184) explains that the distinction between the three traditional moods, indicative, subjunctive, and imperative, was already common in Old English. While the indicative was used to refer to a true proposition, the subjunctive served to indicate that a proposition was uncertain, or for orders, wishes and the like. Hogg furthermore points out that the imperative only existed in the second person singular and plural and was indicated by $-\emptyset$ and $-ap$.

Hogg also illustrates that the choice of mood in Old English was difficult to explain and that few rules for the selection of the indicative or the subjunctive can be deduced (ibid: 239). As concerns the subjunctive, it was the preferred mood in religious, medical and legal contexts, and generally in instructions (ibid: 185) and indirect speech (ibid: 240). Moreover, it conveyed “unreality, potentiality, exhortation, wishes, desires, requests, commands, prohibitions, hypotheses, conjectures and doubts” and occurred in subordinate clauses that followed a main clause with a negative or a matrix verb expressing a wish or doubt (ibid: 239). The indicative, on the other hand, was used to refer to general truths and events that really happened or that are going to happen relatively certainly (ibid: 240-41). This indicates that the subjunctive today still has the same functions as in Old English, and that it was already favoured by formal genres at this time.

As I mentioned above, Old English had an elaborate inflectional system, which is portrayed by Fisiak (1979: 91). This system was still the same at the beginning of the Middle English period, and Fisiak lists the following endings for the indicative singular: $-e$, $-ie$, and $-\emptyset$ for the first person, $-(e)s$, $-(e)st$, $-ast$, and $-t$ for the second person, $-(e)\bar{p}$, $-ap$, and $-\emptyset$ for the third person and $-(a)\bar{p}$, $-iap$, and $-on$ for the plural. The subjunctive, on the other hand, was marked by $-e$, $-ie$, and $-\emptyset$ in the singular and by $-(e)n$ and $-ien$ in the plural. It becomes obvious that in the first person singular the indicative and the subjunctive were already identical in Old English. From this information, one can predict that the subjunctive will merge with the indicative in the other forms, as well. I can imagine that the speakers of Middle English felt that the

Old English inflectional system was too complicated and wanted to simplify it by reducing the endings. As the subjunctive was reserved for special cases, such as the expression of wishes, etc., it was not as frequent as the indicative and, therefore, speakers decided to simplify it by merging it with the indicative. Consequently, in order to explicitly indicate wishes, etc., speakers started to use modal verbs instead of the subjunctive. This process will be dealt with in more detail later and I will remain with Old English first.

In his study of the subjunctive in Old English poetry, Behre identifies five potential uses of the subjunctive, the first one being the hortative subjunctive, which conveys volition, e.g. an exhortation, a command, or a request, and which is used in all but the first person of the singular (1934: 16). The second type is the optative subjunctive, which expresses different kinds of wishes, inter alia a praise and glorification of God, thanksgiving, a general appeal, an address to God (a prayer, curse or blessing), or an “invocation for divine help and favour, but not in the form of an appeal to God” (ibid: 34). The perceptive subjunctive, then, denotes “what ought to or should be done by the subject” (ibid: 37), whereas the concessive subjunctive expresses a challenge (ibid: 45). The subjunctive of conditionality, finally, “represents a verbal activity as conditioned with regard to its realization” (ibid: 50). Today, the subjunctive still fulfils these functions and it is still quite frequent in addresses to God (e.g. *God save the Queen*) or other formulaic statements. It may also be a reason for the survival of the subjunctive that it was used so frequently in religious contexts in former times that this function became fossilized, i.e. that appeals to God always take a subjunctive, as in a collocation. Therefore, it will be interesting to investigate the preferences of the verb *beg*.

Hotz (1882: 47) also comments on the use of the subjunctive in Old English and notes that it occurred in both conditional main clauses and subordinate clauses. He also observes that the subjunctive and the indicative were sometimes used interchangeably, the reason for this being that “[i]n Old English interchange of mood often marks subordination of conditions” (ibid: 59) and that “the indic[ative] often crops up for contrast’s sake.” (ibid). This is interesting, as the subjunctive is nowadays mostly found in subordinate clauses, but it is still alternating with the indicative, although probably the indicative is more dominant today. Thus, I am also

going to analyse the frequency of indicatives as compared to subjunctives in my study.

Ogawa (1989: 229) adds that the expression of mood in Old English was quite different from that in Contemporary English. He (ibid: 230) also claims that the so-called “substitution theory”, i.e. the replacement of the subjunctive by modal verbs, which tend to substitute especially ambiguous inflectional forms, which was believed to have started already in Old English (cf. e.g. Behre), could not be confirmed by his data. Ogawa bases his research on corpora which contain texts from prose and poetry and which date from around 900, and illustrates that there is no indication for a chronological development in Old English (ibid: 231). Consequently, he suggests that the replacement must have started after the Old English period (ibid: 232). This is an interesting point, which I unfortunately will not be able to discuss further in my thesis, as I will focus on Contemporary English. Yet, as I illustrated above, in Old English the subjunctive and the indicative were only identical in the first person singular of the present tense, so there may have been an interchange of the subjunctive with modal verbs in this form, although this development may not yet have been so serious as to be visible. Moreover, as Krug explains, changes usually start in informal genres, and Ogawa bases his results on literary genres, which are rather formal, so the change may not yet have affected these genres.

3.6.3.2. Middle English (1066-1476)

Blake (1992: 246) states that in Old English the indicative was unmarked and the subjunctive and the imperative were marked, whereupon the indicative and the subjunctive fulfilled similar functions in some cases. He additionally indicates that the formal difference between the moods gradually declined in Middle English. Thus, while the imperative still had distinct endings and functions, the inflections of the subjunctive and the imperative merged and it was no longer possible to distinguish between the two moods, except for the second and third person singular, which still had different endings (ibid: 247). The imperative, of course, does not exist in the first person singular, but it was identical with the subjunctive in the plural. This development is interesting as the unmarked forms are those, which are “normal”, i.e. more common and more often used, and therefore often have no endings. The

marked forms, on the other hand, are those, which are exceptional and indicated by special endings. In Old English, however, all moods had a specific ending and as the indicative was normal, whereas the subjunctive was exceptional, the prediction should be that the subjunctive should keep its endings, while the indicative should lose it. Yet, in reality, both moods merged and today the normal, i.e. the indicative is marked, whereas the subjunctive is unmarked. A detailed table of the merging of indicative and subjunctive will be presented at the end of this chapter.

Blake furthermore illustrates the difference between the present and the past subjunctive, explaining that the former denoted “a realisable wish [...] or an exhortation”, whereas the latter referred to “an unrealisable wish [...] or a hypothetical situation” (ibid: 248). This is still similar today, as the present subjunctive mostly occurs in subordinate clauses introduced by verbs of wishing, etc., and the past subjunctive is mainly found in conditionals, i.e. in the form *If I were*.

However, in Middle English the subjunctive not only merged with the indicative, but also with the imperative (Blake 1992: 249). Consequently, its replacement by periphrastic constructions, such as *habban*, *beon*, *willan* and *sculan*, some ancestors of contemporary auxiliaries, began (ibid: 250). Periphrastic constructions, also called periphrases, are forms which substitute other constructions. In the case of the subjunctive, it started being replaced by modal periphrases. These expressions show a considerable rise in contexts where the subjunctive had been used in Old English. Additionally, the auxiliary *do* started to emerge in the Middle English period, which also observes an augmentation of progressive forms (Blake 1992: 251).

With regard to modal verbs, periphrastic expressions were much more frequent by the end of the 15th century than the subjunctive (Blake 1992: 262). This trend already became apparent in late Old English when the inflectional system was simplified, so a means of expression was required which could take the place of the subjunctive and be more explicit than the subjunctive had been. Yet, this replacement was progressive and not radical. Poutsma (1922: 6) justifies the emergence of periphrastic constructions by stating that “[t]hese periphrases offer the material advantage of denoting with peculiar clearness and precision various shades of meaning of which mere modifications of the form of verbs are utterly incapable”. This

point is relevant for my research, as it explains a meaningful reason for the substitution of the subjunctive by modal verbs.

Yet, in Middle English, also the modal verbs were confronted with changes, since they stopped being used in non-finite forms and “[t]ense differences in modals no longer serve[d] a temporal purpose” (Blake 1992: 263). However, they still fulfilled certain “non-auxiliary” functions. This illustrates the beginning development of modal verbs from former full verbs to auxiliaries, which was completed in Modern English. Therefore, modals “only” serve as auxiliaries, as it will also be the case in the sentences in my data.

To come back to the subjunctive, Harsh (1968: 71) conducted a research on the alternation between indicative and subjunctive in Middle English dialects and concludes that there are no crucial differences between individual dialects. However, he notes an alteration between different texts of the same dialect (ibid: 75) and even within single texts, particularly in the North and the Midlands (ibid: 76). Furthermore, Harsh explains that modal auxiliaries occurred in the majority of the texts analysed and that in many texts atypical structures can be found showing orthographical variations (ibid: 78). Also, the number of ambiguous subjunctive structures, which were undistinguishable from the indicative, is relatively high (ibid: 79) and modal verbs constitute 30 per cent of all subjunctive structures (ibid: 81). Harsh’s findings are important for my research as they portray the subjunctive’s decline in frequency during the Middle English period, which goes hand in hand with the rise of modals. Moreover, the fact that a high percentage of subjunctive forms was formally identical with the indicative justifies this development and illustrates that the situation in Middle English was already similar to today.

Another aspect of the subjunctive’s replacement is described by James (1983: 178), who deals with the functions of the subjunctive in Middle English and states that it was used *inter alia* “in prescriptions, recipes, and directions of various sorts”. In Contemporary English, however, it has been replaced by the imperative in this context and occurs merely in stage directions, where it is fossilized. Additionally, James claims that since the subjunctive forms were similar to the indicative, they were believed to be indicative forms, whereby the indicative gained popularity and

was used increasingly, just like modal constructions (ibid: 179). In other words, “one form is chosen over another because it is clearer” (ibid). Here, James observes a crucial point and states a plausible reason for the preference of the indicative and the modal verbs over the subjunctive. Whether it is still the case today that the subjunctive is rarer than the other two forms will be investigated in my study.

3.6.3.3. Early Modern English (1476-1776)

In Early Modern English, Lass (1999: 228) points out that the subjunctive could only be distinguished from the indicative with the verb *be* and in the second and third person singular, and that it had been substituted by modal periphrasis to a large extent. Moreover, it became restricted mostly to formal and formulaic contexts, apart from its most common uses in wishes and hypotheses. This is interesting, as the subjunctive in the second person has also merged with the indicative during the Early Modern English period. Additionally, the subjunctive is still mainly attributed to formal genres and formulaic expressions today, although it is still used for wishes, etc., which I will be dealing with in my research.

Similarly, in the past, the subjunctive form *were* is the only distinguishable form which survived, whereas the preterit and pluperfect subjunctive have been replaced by constructions with *should* or *would* (ibid: 229-30). This is interesting, although I will focus on the present subjunctive in this thesis.

As for modal verbs, Lass illustrates that auxiliaries already existed in Old English, and over the centuries “the (pre)modals lost notional meanings and developed modal meanings” (ibid: 232). This, accompanied by other syntactic and semantic changes, lead to the category of auxiliaries, which exists since Early Modern English. This is relevant, as I will discuss the role of modal verbs as auxiliaries.

Lass furthermore explains that some modals were particularly affected by changes, e.g. *may*, which took over the role of the earlier subjunctive and was henceforward used in exhortations and wishes, although it mainly denoted possibility or permission. Also, in Middle English, epistemic *may* emerged. *Can*, on the other hand, refers *inter alia* to ability, and, like *may*, to “root” or “neutral” possibility. Epistemic *can* occurs in

negations and interrogations (1999: 237). As concerns *must*, its present form *mot* became extinct in the 16th century (ibid: 238). Here, Lass enumerates some former functions of the subjunctive which were taken over by modals. In my study, I will see whether these meanings are still exclusively expressed by modal verbs today, or whether the subjunctive is found in these contexts too.

Before I turn to Late Modern and Contemporary English, I would like to illustrate (and sum up) the merging of the subjunctive with the indicative from Old English to Contemporary English in the following table:

Period	Person	Indicative present	Subjunctive present
Old English	1. Sg	- e	- e
	2. Sg	- (e)st	
	3. Sg	- (e)ð	
	Pl	- að	- en
Middle English	1. Sg	- (e), e	- (e), e
	2. Sg	- es, est, (e)st	
	3. Sg	- es, eþ	
	Pl	- es, is, e(n), eþ	- (en), e(n)
Early Modern English	1. Sg	- ø	- ø
	2. Sg	- t, st, est	
	3. Sg	- eth, th	
	Pl	- ø	- ø
Contemporary English	1. Sg	- ø	- ø
	2. Sg	- ø	
	3. Sg	- s	
	Pl	- ø	

Table 1: Development of indicative and subjunctive endings since Old English

As Table 1 demonstrates, in Old English there were distinct inflections for the indicative and the subjunctive in all persons apart from the first person singular. In Middle English, the plural already starts to merge, as well, and by the beginning of the Early Modern English period, the subjunctive has lost its inflectional endings completely and can only be differentiated from the indicative in the second and third

person singular. In Contemporary English, only the third person singular of the indicative still has a distinct ending and therefore differs from the subjunctive. I focused on the forms of the present tense in this table, as these are the forms I am dealing with in my research.

3.6.3.4. Late Modern and Contemporary English (1776-1997)

In this section I am going to review the results of research on the subjunctive in the 19th and 20th century.

Grund and Walker (2006: 89) investigate the status of the subjunctive in adverbial clauses in the nineteenth century and claim that, whereas it occurs rather seldom in this context in Contemporary English, it was still a popular construction in Early Modern English. Yet, they refer to Moessner (2000 quoted in Grund & Walker), who points out that the modal auxiliaries alternated with the subjunctive and that it steadily decreased over the Middle English period, inter alia in conditional clauses. Nevertheless, by the end of the 17th century, the subjunctive occurred frequently in informal texts (Grund & Walker 2006: 90). Rissanen (1999: 228 quoted in Grund & Walker) even suggests a rise in the employment of the subjunctive in the 18th century, which he attributes to “an increase in usage in formal style” (Grund & Walker 2006: 90). As concerns the results of Grund’s and Walker’s study, they conclude that the subjunctive has gradually been substituted by modal constructions. However, they admit that not only the subjunctive declined, but also modal auxiliaries, which they explain by the increasing occurrence of the indicative (ibid: 93). The results of Grund and Walker are interesting for my research for various reasons. First, they also discuss the genre question and do not agree whether it is more frequent in formal or in informal texts. Second, they point out that both the subjunctive and the modals declined due to the rise of the indicative. Thus, two questions remain unsolved: Does the subjunctive occur more often in formal or in informal texts? Is the indicative more popular than the subjunctive and modal verbs today? In my analysis, I will investigate both aspects and see whether what Grund and Walker observe is also true for my data.

Bevier also investigates the status of the American subjunctive in the second half of the nineteenth century and calls it “a disappearing feature” (1931: 207). She analyses Congress speeches and points out that famous politicians, such as Washington or Jefferson, hardly ever made use of the subjunctive (ibid: 209). Nevertheless, a rise in frequency can be asserted for the period between 1855 and 1880, in particular with regard to the form *be*. After this period, however, various grammarians, e.g. Holbrook (1889), Krapp (1909) or Vizetelly (1915), predict the extinction of the subjunctive (Bevier 1931: 210-212). Consequently, Bevier concludes that the subjunctive was only used productively in America between 1855 and 1880 (ibid: 215). This statement is definitely wrong, as the subjunctive still exists today and is actively used by many speakers of American English, as my data shows. Yet, I find it interesting that a certain number of grammarians believed in an extinction of the subjunctive, which, luckily, did not happen. What is relevant for my study from Bevier’s results is the frequent employment of *be* which she indicates. Therefore, I will check whether a rise of *be* is also visible in my data in the period she talks about.

Övergaard (1995: 39), then, examines the development of the subjunctive in American and British English in the course of the 20th century and his data shows that in both varieties the inflectional subjunctive increased from 1900 to 1990, although the rise was more radical in British English. Nevertheless, it is still more frequent in American English. The modal auxiliaries, on the other hand, which were more frequent in both varieties at the beginning of the 20th century, register a considerable decline in American and British English and are now less frequent than the inflectional subjunctive. This is particularly relevant for my study, as I am going to check whether Övergaard’s observation of the rise of the subjunctive and the decline of modals can also be seen in my data. As I already said, a comparison to British English would be interesting, too, but I will focus on American English.

To conclude the chapter on the subjunctive in the 19th and 20th century, I am going to present a study by González-Alvarez (2003: 303), who analyses the role of the subjunctive in conditional protases, i.e. subordinate *if*-clauses, in Early and Late Modern English and points out that it alternates with modal verbs and the indicative. Yet, she claims that the modal verbs play only a marginal role in the replacement of the subjunctive and that the indicative came to be preferred over the subjunctive and

modal constructions in conditional protases over the last few centuries (ibid: 305). According to her, the dominance of the indicative can be explained by the fact that “modality is unimportant in conditional protases” (ibid: 306). Nonetheless, modal auxiliaries did not entirely vanish from conditional protases, as they “are reserved for those cases in which a specific meaning is to be conveyed, such as obligation [...] or volition [...]” (ibid). Although I will not deal with conditional clauses in this study, González-Alvarez’ findings are relevant for me, as she also speaks of the prevalence of the indicative over the subjunctive and the modals. Consequently, I am going to investigate whether this can also be applied to mandative subclauses and whether there are certain contexts in which modal verbs are still used more frequently for the reason stated above.

Moreover, González-Alvarez (2003: 309) remarks that the subjunctive often occurs in passive clauses today. In Early and Late Modern English, however, active subjunctives were much more frequent, particularly in informal genres, e.g. private correspondence. She furthermore notices a gender difference in the use of the subjunctive and illustrates that in the 17th century, women preferred the indicative over the subjunctive, whereas men favoured modal verbs, but still used the subjunctive frequently (ibid: 310). In Late Modern English, though, men tended to use the indicative instead of the subjunctive, while women preferred the subjunctive (ibid: 311). This is an interesting point, which I unfortunately will not be able to check in my research as my corpora do not indicate whether the author of a text is male or female. However, I am going to analyse the relationship between active and passive subjunctives and the influence of genre on the percentage.

Now that I have reviewed the history of the subjunctive and the research on its status in the last centuries, I will finish the theoretical part of my thesis by presenting the findings of current research on the subjunctive.

3.6.4. Current research on the subjunctive

Davidson-Nielsen (1990:105) defines the subjunctive as “thought-mood” and explains that it can be used in an epistemic or a deontic way, the latter expressing *inter alia* wishes, invocations, or curses. He furthermore comments on the mandative

subjunctive, which may express e.g. “demand, resolution, recommendation and the like” (ibid: 106). As I already said above, I am going to focus on this type in my study. According to him, the mandative subjunctive in British English is typically used in formal style, and it is currently becoming more frequent, which may be due to the impact of American English. Hence, Davidsen-Nielsen is another researcher who attributes the subjunctive to formal genres. As he analyses British English, I am going to check whether his findings also apply to American English, although, of course American English cannot reflect the impact of American English. I also find it interesting that he calls the subjunctive a “thought-mood”, as this is an adequate name in my opinion. The subjunctive expresses what people think about a certain situation, what they would like it to be, and not what it really is like. Therefore, the situation that is described by the subjunctive only exists in people’s thoughts.

Moreover, Davidsen-Nielsen points out that the epistemic subjunctive denotes a “contingent assumption” (ibid: 108) and is used in hypothetical, conditional, and concessive clauses, e.g. in the form of *were*. This, however, is not what I will be dealing with.

Tsoulas (1995: 293) views the subjunctive in a similar way and states that a common definition of the subjunctive is that it refers to an irrealis event, i.e. the proposition in the subjunctive clause is portrayed as not true or doubted. However, Tsoulas identifies the problem that the subjunctive does not only appear in contexts where a reference to the truth-value of a statement is made, since according to him, it often occurs when no subjunctive trigger can be found (ibid: 294). This, however, will not be the case in my data, as I will be looking for specific contexts which trigger the subjunctive.

In order to explain this problem, Tsoulas illustrates the difference between indicatives and subjunctives, and points out that the subjunctive refers to “an unspecified temporal point” (1995: 296). Therefore, he calls the subjunctive tense an indefinite tense and labels the proposition an “Indefinite Proposition” (ibid: 297). Consequently, the subjunctive can be considered a “temporally indefinite element” (ibid: 300). This is definitely true, as the subjunctive, as I already stated above, does not locate an event in time.

Finally, Tsoulas deals with the problem of obviation, which means that “the pronominal subject of an embedded clause in the subjunctive cannot be coreferential with the subject of the main clause” (ibid: 300), i.e. the subject of the main clause cannot be the same as in the subordinate clause. Yet, this problem only concerns the subject and not the object. By explaining this problem, Tsoulas identifies a typical characteristic of subjunctive clauses, which also applies to modal periphrases and which will also apply to my data.

Another interesting point is made by Chiba, who investigates the interdependence of subjunctive-taking nouns, verbs, and adjectives, and notices that the subjunctive need not necessarily be triggered by one verb, noun, or adjective only. For instance, if a verb does not trigger the subjunctive directly, it can be combined with a noun to create an irrealis event, which then requires the subjunctive (1991: 24). In this case, “a special noun which itself can c-select a subjunctive clause” (ibid) is needed. As an example, Chiba gives the sentence “The law of the religion says that the one who wears the ring be offered as a sacrifice.”, in which the noun *law*, and not the verb *says*, demands the subjunctive. This phenomenon demonstrates a “feature transfer from the subject to the verb”, which Chiba also calls “feature sharing” (ibid: 25). Additionally, adverbial modifiers may also influence verbs to trigger the subjunctive (ibid: 26) and certain combinations of modals and adjectives (e.g. *must be true*) can form a “subjunctive-triggering complex predicate” (ibid: 29). Such predicates can equally be created by a combination of various verbs or adjectives, which then causes a “feature transfer from the main verb in the matrix sentence to the embedded main verb” (ibid: 31). Here, Chiba describes an important aspect in relation to the employment of the subjunctive, which, however, will not apply to my data, as I will deal with specific matrix verbs that trigger the subjunctive. Nevertheless, I decided to include this information in order to illustrate that there are also other contexts in which the subjunctive can occur.

A similar point is made by Bergs and Heine (2010: 107), who explain that today, instead of being indicated by inflections, mood is shown through the absence of inflection, i.e. by the missing third person -s. As concerns the subjunctive, they claim that it has almost disappeared in Modern English (ibid: 110). This is interesting, as it

contradicts other people's findings, which will be illustrated later. They furthermore illustrate that Modern English distinguishes between the present and the past subjunctive, which "both are concerned with present time but indicate different verb modes in that they express different degrees of remoteness." (ibid).

The present subjunctive, according to Bergs and Heine (ibid: 110), consists of the mandative and the formulaic subjunctive, yet it is only clearly distinct from the indicative in the third person singular when the inflectional -s is missing and with the verb *be*. Additionally, they claim that the subjunctive occurs primarily "in independent formulaic expressions such as idioms or semi-fixed expressions" (ibid), as, for instance, in *God bless America*. Moreover, they affirm that, whereas the mandative subjunctive is relatively frequent in American English, British English prefers the use of *should*. As I already explained, I will not be able to compare American English to British English, but I can nevertheless test whether the subjunctive or the *should* construction are more frequent in my data. Furthermore, I will see which role formulaic expressions play in the use of the subjunctive.

In order to discuss all three English moods in my theses, I will now also provide some information on the imperative, which, according to Bergs and Heine (2010: 111), is not indicated by a specific inflection, but is "often characterized by a special syntactic configuration", i.e. it is normally found at the beginning of a sentence and requires no subject (ibid: 112). It may inter alia convey wishes and commands. Davidsen-Nielsen (1990: 98-99) additionally enumerates five potential uses of the imperative mood, which, according to him, may denote commands, requests, instructions, advice, permission, and prayers. This is noteworthy, as it illustrates that the imperative also fulfils similar functions as the subjunctive. Therefore, it would be interesting to investigate the relationship between imperatives and subjunctives in English to find out which mood is more frequently used in the contexts mentioned above. This, however, would go beyond the scope of this thesis.

The genre question, which will be part of my analysis, is also discussed by Poutsma (1922: 25), who comments on the use of the subjunctive in literary English and identifies various contexts in which it occurs. First, it can be found in clauses that denote "a hope or wish", e.g. in appeals to God. Furthermore, the subjunctive may

convey a “movement of the human will” (ibid: 29). Other functions of the subjunctive in literary English are to express “what is thought necessary, desirable, advisable, just, fair, or the reverse” (ibid: 36). Additionally, it is used in proposals, suggestions, or advice (ibid: 38), and to indicate “what is the subject of a person’s care or solicitude” (ibid: 39) and “what is the subject of an apprehension” (ibid: 40). Yet, I would say that this does not only apply to literary English, but to English in general, as the subjunctive can be used in the contexts identified by Poutsma in all genres. Nevertheless, it will be interesting to check in which genre the subjunctive is most frequent and whether the argument of formality is true.

As I already pointed out above, some researchers predicted the extinction of the subjunctive. In relation to this, Zhou discerns the problem that the subjunctive is ignored by some grammarians, e.g. by Palmer, who says that “English has no subjunctive” (Palmer quoted in Zhou 1996: 92). He criticises this by explaining that, although the form might not be visible any longer, the meaning still exists. This is an important observation in my opinion, as I fully agree with Zhou when he says that the meaning of the subjunctive is more significant than its form.

Moreover, Zhou (ibid: 94) identifies five forms of the subjunctive which can be found in present-day English. The first is the “base form”, i.e. the present subjunctive, for which he gives the examples *be* and *do* and the modal constructions *may be/do* or *should be/do*. It denotes wishes and is triggered by specific verbs, such as *order* or *insist*, or by the nouns formed from these verbs, or by certain adjectives like *necessary* or *crucial*, or yet by adverbial clauses. With *be*, however, the problem is that it is problematic to call it “base form” as it is suppletive and distinct for many persons and numbers. The second type is the “indefinite form”, as e.g. in *were/was* or *did*. This form conveys “subjective wishes that run counter to the present facts” (ibid: 95), and occurs in that-clauses introduced by *It’s (about/high) time*, or in adverbial clauses that start with *as if* or *as though*, or “in conditional clauses presenting a condition against present fact or an improbability in the future” (ibid). The third subjunctive form is the “perfective form”, as, for instance, in *had been/done* or *have been done* preceded by a modal. This type enunciates “subjective wishes that run counter to the past facts” (ibid) and also appears in adverbial clauses with *as if* or *as though* and “in conditional clauses presenting a condition against the past fact” (ibid:

96). Finally, there are the “progressive” and the “perfective progressive forms”, but these are quite rare. For this study, only the base form will be relevant, but nonetheless, I wanted to include the other forms, too, in this section in order to show that there are many contexts in which a subjunctive meaning is expressed, although on the formal level, the subjunctive is replaced by other constructions. In other words, although the form may be rare, the meaning is still frequent.

As a future teacher of English, I was also interested in finding out whether and how the subjunctive is taught in foreign language classes, and came across an article by Lee (2006: 80-81), who conducted a research on the teaching of the subjunctive in Hong Kong. Lee criticises that textbooks are often prescriptive, i.e. they present one form as correct and favour formal written language, ignoring actual language use. Investigating the differentiation that textbooks draw between subjunctive *were* and indicative *was*, Lee (ibid: 81) notices that most course books “fail to give an objective account of their contemporary usage” and thus apply a prescriptive approach. Lee, however, calls for a descriptive approach that illustrates how language is used in everyday communication. For her study, Lee (ibid: 84) analyses twenty textbooks and concludes that, while some accept the indicative *was* and explain that the choice of indicative or subjunctive depends on style, others are entirely prescriptive. This is interesting, as it shows that there are people who attempt to “rescue” the subjunctive by prescribing its use in certain contexts. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that this is the wrong approach, as learners of English should not be taught strict rules, which are not even followed by native speakers, but rather “real” English that is spoken by natives. Therefore, I think that students should be informed on the existence of the subjunctive and on its function in language, but they should also learn how it is really used and that there are other grammatical means that express the same meaning as the subjunctive.

In the previous sections I have presented the findings of various researchers who investigated the present status of the subjunctive, many of whom argue for a marginal role of the subjunctive in English. There are, however, also people who contradict this. Romaine (1998: 161), for instance, claims that the subjunctive currently is experiencing a partial revival and explains that nowadays it can only be distinguished from the indicative in the third person singular and in the forms of *be*.

Yet, in negations, the difference between the two moods also becomes apparent sometimes, since the negator *not* usually comes after the indicative, but before the subjunctive (ibid: 162). She also comments on the past subjunctive, stating that it is highly literary and has been replaced by modal verbs in most contexts (ibid: 163). What Romaine says about negation is interesting and relevant for my study, as I also came across numerous sentences in my data where I could identify the subjunctive due to the position of *not*.

Harsh (1968: 18) also notices that the subjunctive is facing an “unexpected revival” and asserts that it definitely still exists in present-day English. As evidence, he mentions Onion (quoted in Harsh 1968: 21), who states that the subjunctive has certainly not died out and calls for a consideration of meaning, which he believes to be more important than form. Yet, Harsh acknowledges the minor role of the subjunctive in Contemporary English and refers to Jespersen’s study on its decline since Old English as proof (ibid: 22). For me, Harsh’s findings are particularly interesting, as they are from the 1960s. Obviously, the subjunctive was rising in the middle of the last century, but still had a marginal role in English. This raises the question of whether this trend continued and whether the subjunctive is more important today than it was in the 1960s. What the answer to this question is will be shown in my analysis.

Similarly to Romaine and Harsh, James (1983: 152) suggests a revitalization of the subjunctive, which he, like many other researchers mentioned before, ascribes to the impact of formal writing. He also points out that the use of the subjunctive varies between dialects and is influenced by different cultural factors. Moreover, according to him, the subjunctive often appears as ““exceptional forms” in “fossilized” expressions”, such as the past subjunctive *were* (ibid). The focus of my research will not be on these “fossilized” expressions, but on the mandative subjunctive, as I said before. Yet, it will be interesting for me to find out whether there is a connection between formality and the occurrence of the subjunctive. I would also like to investigate the impact of dialects and other cultural factors on the employment of the subjunctive, yet this is not possible, given the constraints of the corpora with which I am working.

Finally, I was also interested in the status of the subjunctive in other varieties of English and found an article by Peters. She investigates the status of the subjunctive in Australian English and works with questionnaires and corpora (ACE, Brown and LOB). Her results show that in Australia, the mandative subjunctive still occurs quite frequently, whereas the past subjunctive *were* has been replaced by the indicative *was* and modal constructions to a large extent (1998: 100). Thus, Australian English shows trends similar to American English in that the mandative subjunctive is actively used, while the past subjunctive is rather rare.

At the beginning of the chapter on the subjunctive, I briefly talked about the French subjunctive. There are also several other studies on the present status of the subjunctive in Romance languages, for instance by Kempchinsky (2009) for Spanish, by Quer (2001 and 2009) for Romance languages in general, by Giorgi (2009) for Italian, and by Journoud (1971), who notices a gradual substitution of the subjunctive by the indicative also in French.

To sum up, there are disagreements between individual researchers on various aspects concerning the subjunctive. Whereas some state that the modal verbs have replaced the subjunctive (e.g. Davidsen-Nielsen), others say that the indicative is actually more frequent than the subjunctive and the modal verbs, which are both declining (e.g. González-Alvarez), and yet others speak of a revival of the subjunctive (e.g. Romaine, Harsh and James). Moreover, the genre question remains open, too, as many (e.g. González-Alvarez) explain that the subjunctive is typical of formal style, while others (e.g. Grund & Walker) claim that it is also frequently used in informal speech. Also, the question of whether the subjunctive is more frequent in the passive voice or in the active is unsolved, as researchers contradict one another in this respect.

After this long section on theoretical preliminaries and former research, I will now finally turn to my own research for the rest of my thesis. First, I am going to explain the methods I applied in my study.

4. Methods

As mentioned in the introduction, this study will deal with the development of the subjunctive in relation to modal verbs from late Modern English to Contemporary English. The data will be taken from the COCA and the COHA.

Before I started working with the corpora, I chose a set of eleven verbs, which, according to the *Collins COBUILD advanced learner's English dictionary* (Sinclair 2006: 325), may be followed by a subjunctive or a modal verb in a subordinate clause introduced by *that*. The selected verbs were the following: *advise, beg, command, decree, direct, intend, plead, pray, prefer, stipulate*, and *urge*. I decided to look for specific contexts in which the mandative subjunctive occurs, in my case, for matrix verbs that trigger it. Had I searched for subjunctive forms in general, the corpus search would have been much more difficult, as it is easier to look for specific contexts than for verb forms in general. Furthermore, while the number of corpus entries for the selected verbs was manageable, the amount of verb forms in general would have been too enormous to allow for a qualitative analysis.

After the selection of a fixed context for the mandative subjunctive, I searched the corpora for all results of the verbs above followed by *that*. I searched for the verbs in the present tense, the third person present tense, the past tense, and the *-ing* form, briefly for all forms of the verbs that could be found in the corpora. Then, I copied the results into a Microsoft Word file and looked at each individual instance, separating the sentences with base forms or subjunctives from those with modal verbs, and copied each of the two groups into a new file so that I would be able to analyse subjunctives and modals separately. I also deleted all tokens that were not followed by a base form, a subjunctive, or a modal verb, as well as all occurrences in which the matrix verb was not used in a mandative sense, as these were not relevant for my study. This was the case, for instance, with *advise*, as I illustrated earlier. Moreover, I sometimes encountered the problem that the search yielded results in which the intended matrix verb was, in fact, not a verb, but a noun (e.g. in the case of *command* or *decree*, in which the verb and the noun have the same form), so I had to ignore these as well.

When I had sorted out those entries that were not relevant for my research, I grouped the remaining results for each verb into different categories, namely the decades in which they occurred (from 1810 to 2010), and the various genres of the corpora (News, Magazine, Fiction, Non-Fiction, Academic, and Spoken), as I wanted to investigate the differences between the individual decades and genres. However, since a quantitative analysis of the data turned out to be problematic with Microsoft Word, I changed to Microsoft Excel and entered all the results into an Excel table, analysing each sentence according to a number of criteria (the matrix verb, the tense of the matrix verb, the person/number of the subject in the main clause, the verb of the dependent clause, the form/construction of the verb in the dependent clause, the voice of the dependent clause, the person/number of the subject in the dependent clause, the corpus decade, and the genre). These criteria simultaneously contain the factors which may have an influence on the choice between the subjunctive and the modal periphrases, as I explained in my hypotheses. The matrix verb may influence the choice simply due to lexical solidarity (see Hypothesis 2). The selection could also depend on the tense of the matrix verb (see Hypothesis 5), e.g. the subjunctive could be more frequent when the matrix verb is in the present tense, but whether this is true has to be tested. As I have already explained in the section about my hypotheses, the subjunctive may occur more often in the third person singular (see Hypothesis 1) and in passive sentences (see Hypothesis 3), so the person and the voice of the subordinate clause may also impact the choice of mood. Finally, the genre of a text could also be an indication of the use of the subjunctive (see Hypothesis 4).

Since I had to have a close look at each individual sentence, I realised that eleven words were too many, especially since *pray*, *urge*, and *stipulate* were of very high frequency, which would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis, so I decided to narrow the number down to eight, the remaining verbs being: *advise*, *beg*, *command*, *decree*, *direct*, *intend*, *plead*, and *prefer*. Finally, I imported the Excel file into Microsoft Access, created a database in this program, and analysed the data according to my research questions. I worked with Access, as this program has a “filter” function, which allows filtering the data according to different criteria. In order to illustrate this, I am going to provide an example:

ID	Text	Quelle	Matrix verb	Tense MV	Person/nun	Feld6	Verb Dep	Form/Const	Voice (Verb)	Person/nun	Feld11	Corpus
1	Most of the co	ChronicleConc	advise	SPT	6		demolish	sh	p	3		H
2	Some of the Cl	ChronicleConc	advise	SPT	6		slay	sh	a	6		H
3	I advise that w	Fanshawe	advise	SPR	1		continue	BF	a	4		H
4	Mr Droz advise	NorthAmRev	advise	SPR	3		aim	sh	a	4		H
5	he advised tha	ClarenceATale	advise	SPT	6		commence	sh	p	3		H
6	he was compe	CavaliersVirg	advise	SPT	6		endeavour	sh	a	3		H
7	Some advised	Autobiography	advise	SPT	6		go	sh	a	4		H
8	she advised th	HorseShoeRot	advise	SPT	3		take	sh	a	4		H
9	Lewis advised	AstoriaAnecd	advise	SPT	3		slip	sh	a	6		H
10	Lewis advised	NorthAmRev	advise	SPT	3		slip	sh	a	6		H
11	He declared hi	DamselDarien	advise	SPT	3		harass	sh	a	6		H
12	I would espec	Monikins	advise	SPR	1		dilate	sh	a	3		H
13	he discourag	NorthAmRev	advise	Ing	3		defer	sh	p	3		H
14	he address	NorthAmRev	advise	Ing	3		place	sh	a	3		H
15	Cope sent noti	NorthAmRev	advise	Ing	3		transmit	sh	p	6		H
16	But others adv	LivingAge	advise	SPT	6		make	sh	p	3		H
17	Gertrude advis	YoungPatroon	advise	SPT	3		accept	sh	p	3		H
18	We would adv	ConciseExposi	advise	SPR	4		receive	sh	a	6		H
19	Miss Donaldso	EveningsAtDor	advise	SPT	3		try on	sh	a	3		H
20	he earnestly a	NorthAmRev	advise	SPT	3		enlarge	sh	p	6		H
21	Webster advis	NewEngYaleRe	advise	SPT	3		fasten	sh	p	3		H
22	I advised that	LangstrothOn	advise	SPT	1		do	sh	p	3		H
23	The more mod	KnightGolden	advise	SPT	6		receive	sh	p	3		H
24	Tanacharisson	LifeGeorgeWa	advise	SPT	3		build	sh	a	6		H
25	Lord Fairfax, a	LifeGeorgeWa	advise	SPT	3		call	sh	a	3		H
26	He advised the	LifeGeorgeWa	advise	SPT	3		make	sh	p	3		H
27	If one should	PropositionsC	advise	SPR	3		put	sh	p	3		H

Image 1: Extract from Access database

As can be seen in Image 1, there are overall 4689 entries in the database. If I wanted to compare the number of base forms and modals for *advise*, I would first click on a field containing *advise* in the column “Matrix verb” and select “filter” in order to get all examples for *advise*. Then I would select all base forms with *advise* by clicking on a field with “BF” in the column “Form/Const” and filtering again. This number could then be compared to the number of modals by applying the same method. Now that I have presented my methods, I will provide some general information on the corpora I have been working with.

5. Information on the corpora

According to the site of the corpora (<http://corpus.byu.edu/coha>; <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca>, 13 March 2012), the COHA and the COCA are the two corpora of English containing the greatest amount of data (400 million words from 1810 to 2009 respectively 425 million words from 1990 to 2011). Both corpora were developed by Marc Davies of Brigham Young University.

The COHA permits the user to analyse the frequency of words, as well as semantic and syntactic or stylistic changes that occurred in the time covered. An example for semantic change would be that *gay* no longer means *happy* only, but that it also refers to homosexuality. Syntactic change, on the other hand, occurred, for instance,

in *going to*, which can be reduced to *gonna*. Overall, the COHA consists of 107.000 texts taken from four different genres, namely fiction, magazine, newspaper, and non-fiction. The most important sources for the individual genres are Project Gutenberg, Making of America, scanned books, magazines and newspapers, movie and play scripts, the site www.archive.org, and the COCA. The decades of 1810 and 1820 contain fewer words (roughly 1.000.000 respectively 7.000.000), the later periods, however, contain between 10.000.000 and 30.000.000 words and each decade is balanced by genre (<http://corpus.byu.edu/coha>, 13 March 2012).

The COCA allows its user to analyse changes that are currently happening in American English and it also permits comparison of the frequency of words between different genres (academic, fiction, magazine, newspaper and spoken) and for each year from 1990 to 2011. The corpus consists of more than 175.000 texts, which cover roughly 20.000.000 words for each year (<http://corpus.byu.edu/coca>, 13 March 2012).

Since I will also focus on the individual genres in my research, I consider it necessary to give an overview of the most important sources of the corpora, as I will also refer to some of them later. The major sources for the spoken texts are transcriptions of about 150 TV and radio programs, including, for instance, CNN, ABC or PBS. The genre of fiction contains various magazines and books, as well as movie scripts, whereas the genre of magazines consists of approximately 100 magazines from different domains, including *Time*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *Sports Illustrated*. The newspaper texts were taken from ten newspapers, inter alia *USA Today* and the *New York Times*. The academic texts, finally, come from roughly 100 academic journals (<http://corpus.byu.edu/coca>, 13 March 2012).

6. Results

In this section I am going to present and comment on the results of my research. First, though, I need to point out that I am going to provide an overview of my data and will then try to interpret my findings. These interpretations, however, will only be tentative, as it was not possible for me to work with statistical methods, which would have gone beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, I could not test the statistical relevance of my findings, and I am aware of the fact that my interpretations are only

tentative. Now, before I go into detail on the individual hypotheses and claims, I am going to provide some general information on the corpus data.

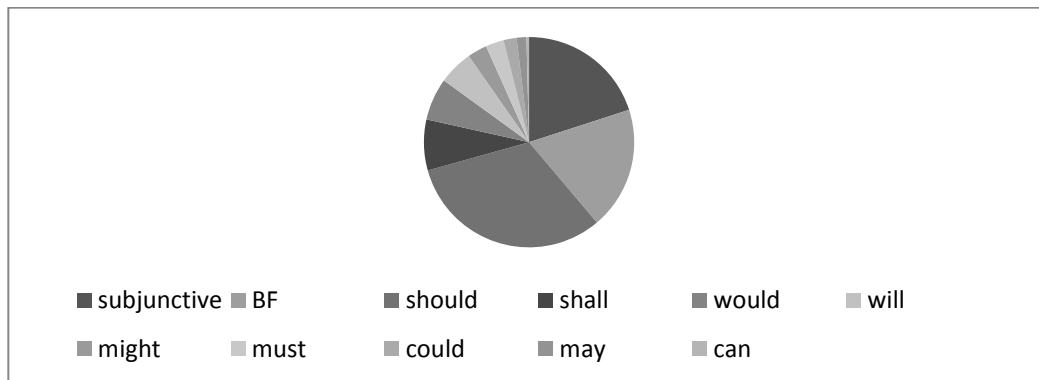


Figure 1: Overall distribution of base forms, subjunctives, and modals

Figure 1 depicts the overall frequency of base forms, subjunctives, and modals in the whole data of both corpora. By base form, I mean those ambiguous forms that are no definite subjunctives and that are no modal verbs.

Although in Figure 1 the base form (18.8%) and the subjunctive (20%) are less frequent than the modals (61.2%), the percentages are not as low as one could have expected after the numerous claims in the literature concerning the subjunctive's marginal role or even its extinction in Contemporary English. On the one hand, this means that, overall, the subjunctive is more frequent than the base form, but on the other hand, that it is far outnumbered by modal verbs.

Yet, it is not possible to draw concrete conclusions from this figure, as it raises an important question, namely whether the base form and the subjunctive were less frequent than the modal verbs over the whole period of time under investigation, or whether the modals were more frequent at a certain time and were then outnumbered by the base form or the subjunctive. Consequently, for a more substantiated interpretation it will be necessary to have a closer look at the development of base forms, subjunctives, and modals over time.

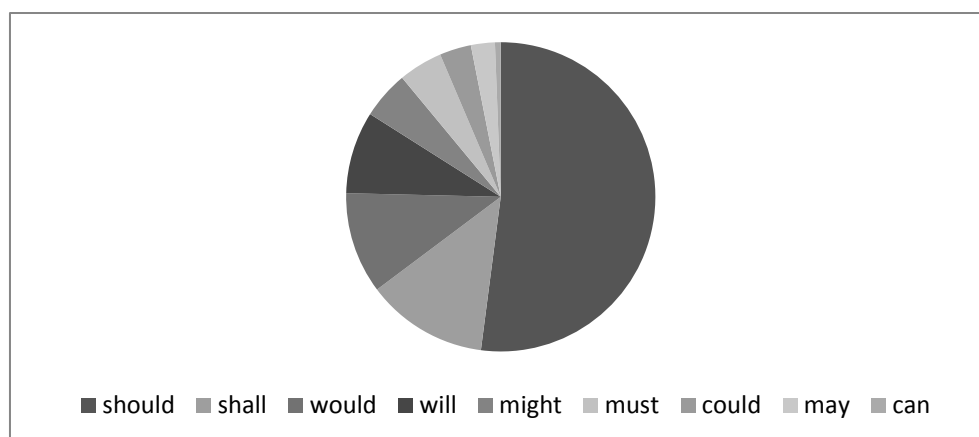


Figure 2: Frequency within modal category

Figure 2 illustrates the frequency of the individual modals in the whole data. As can be seen, *should* is clearly the most frequent modal with 52 percent, whereas *shall*, *would*, and *will* only amount to roughly 10 percent in each case. The other modals constitute 5 percent or less and can therefore be considered to be rather infrequent in mandative subordinate clauses. These numbers are not surprising, as two of the main functions of mandative dependent clauses are to express orders and commands. Thus, it is obvious that speakers use *should* or *shall* for giving an order, rather than, for instance, *might* or *could*, as the former leave no doubt that the statement one is making is a command.

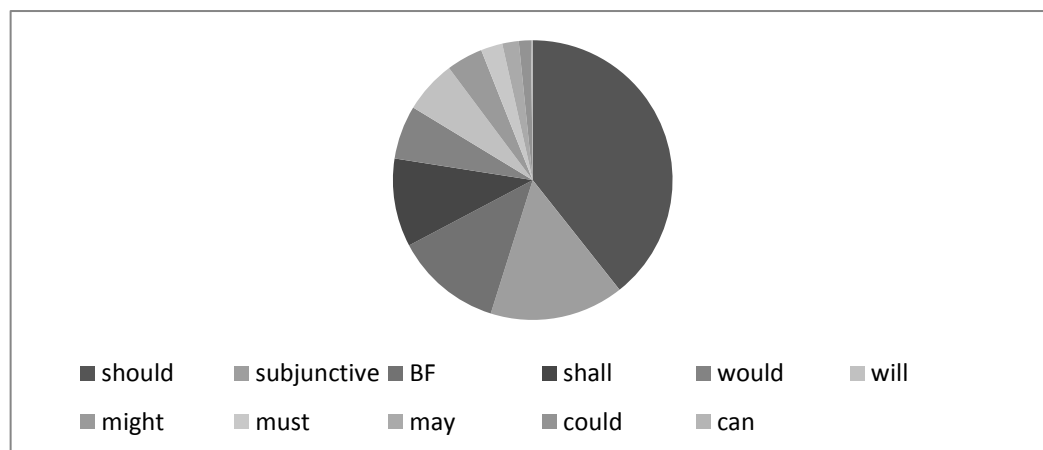


Figure 3: Overall frequency of base forms, subjunctives, and modals in COHA

As concerns the COHA, *should* is most frequent with 39 percent, followed by the subjunctive with 15.5 percent and the base form with 12.4 percent. In other words, just more than a quarter of all mandative subclauses contain a subjunctive or a base form, while in the remaining 72 percent a modal periphrasis occurs. The other modal verbs amount to 10 percent or less each and can be interpreted as rare substitutes

for the subjunctive or the base form. It is also interesting that the subjunctive adds up to 55.6 percent of non-inflected forms, so it occurs more often than the ambiguous base form, but, as it only amounts to 15.5 percent of all forms in the COHA, this indicates that it only played a marginal role in the whole period of 1810 to 2000.

In other words, from these numbers, one can draw the overall conclusion that the modals were more frequent than the base form and the subjunctive. However, this does not answer the question of whether this is still the case today. For this purpose, it will be necessary to look first at the development over time, and second at the present status in the COCA.

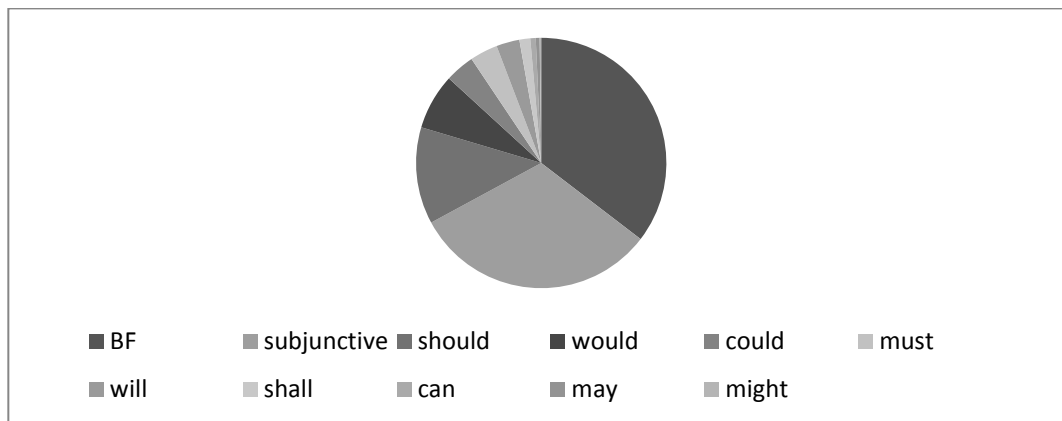


Figure 4: Overall frequency of base forms, subjunctives, and modals in COCA

The COCA shows the surprising result that 67 percent of all mandative subordinate clauses contain either a base form (35.4%) or a subjunctive (31.7%). This is puzzling, as it contrasts with the figures for the COHA and for the overall distribution in the data, where the modals clearly outnumber the base form and the subjunctive. The most frequent substitute for the base form and the subjunctive is again *should* (12%), and the other modals account for less than 10 percent in each case. Consequently, one can conclude that the base form and the subjunctive, which were less frequent in the COHA with only 12.4 and 15.5 percent of all results, have gained in frequency in the last decades and it may be the case that these forms are now reviving. This would prove the claims of e.g. Romaine, Harsh and James. The percentages for the subjunctive in the COCA show that it accounts for 47.3 percent of non-inflected forms, which is lower than in the COHA and in the data overall. Nevertheless, with 31.7 percent of all forms, it is definitely more frequent in the COCA than in the COHA (15.5%). These results indicate that the base form in general is increasing, as well as

the subjunctive itself. Yet, they also show that the subjunctive may be outnumbered by the indicative, although this is not certain, as the base forms are ambiguous in all persons, but the third person singular and could be either a subjunctive or an indicative. Consequently, the question of whether the indicative is more frequent than the subjunctive and the modals today is left open. However, the development of the ratio between the three forms over time may provide an insight into this question, so I am going to analyse it now.

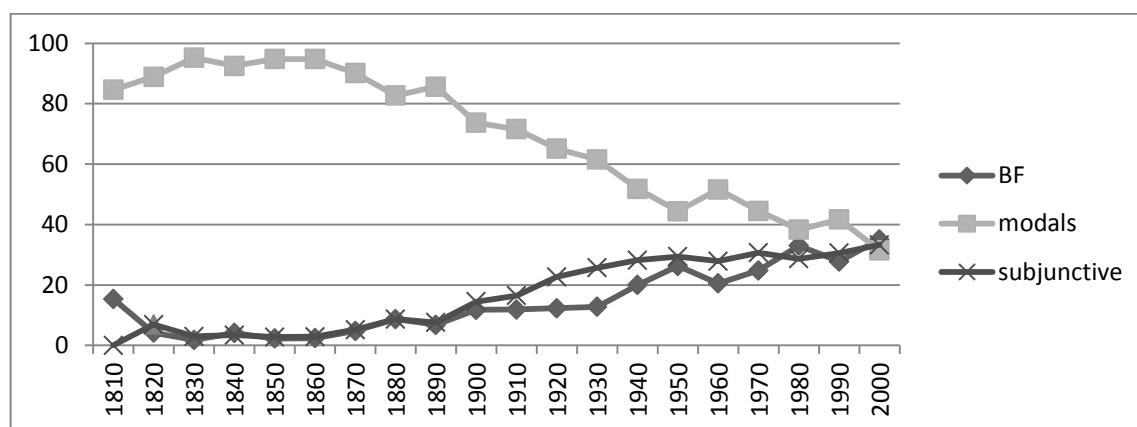


Figure 5: Development of ratio in COHA

Figure 5 illustrates the general development of the ratio between base forms, subjunctives and modal verbs in the COHA. I calculated the percentages for the three forms for each decade and found out that they confirm the trend that has been pointed out by some other researchers (e.g. Romaine, Harsh, James), who stated that the subjunctive revived in American English, especially in the course of the 20th century. Overall, the subjunctive and the base form increased steadily, whereas the modal verbs declined considerably. Hence, the conclusion can be drawn from this that the modal verbs are less significant in a mandative context nowadays, as they are outnumbered by both the base form and the subjunctive. As concerns the overall percentage of subjunctives within the base forms, during the 19th century the number of both forms is mostly equal, whereas the subjunctive occurs more often from 1900 to 1970. From 1980 onwards, however, the base form is slightly more frequent, which confirms the claim that the indicative outnumbers the subjunctive and the modal verbs today. Yet, as I said, the problem with the base form is that it is not clear whether it is an indicative or a subjunctive. Thus, to be able to judge what the situation is like today, it will be necessary to look at the results from the COCA.

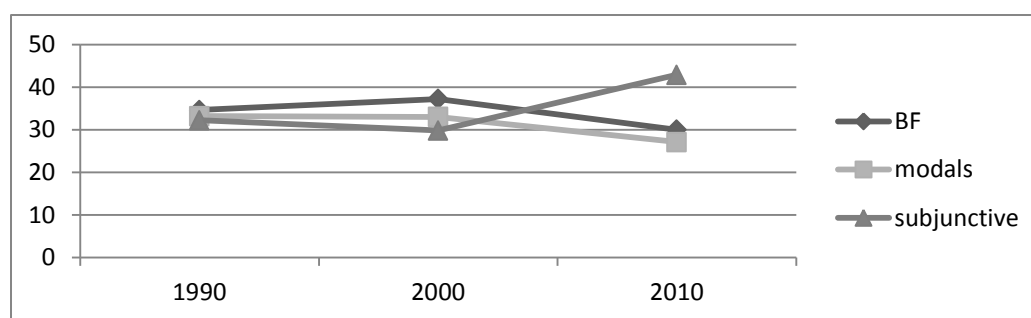


Figure 6: Development of ratio in COCA

As Figure 6 depicts, the change in the ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modal verbs has not been considerable in the last two decades. While both the base form and the modals declined from 2000 to 2010, the subjunctive observes an increase in this period. The percentage for 2010, however, needs to be interpreted with caution, since it only covers two years (2010 and 2011) and is therefore based on fewer results than the other two periods. Thus, the number for 2010 is not very significant. Nevertheless, Figure 6 suggests that the subjunctive is more frequent than the indicative and the modal verbs today, which contradicts the results from the COHA and the claim of González-Alvarez. Consequently, the question of which form is actually more frequent in Contemporary English still cannot be answered with certainty and demands further investigation. In order to find a solution to this problem, I will now turn to my hypotheses and see whether I can solve it with the findings required to check them.

6.1. Hypothesis 1

The subjunctive is more frequent in the third person singular, as this is the only context in which it can be distinguished from the indicative. In order to check the truth of this hypothesis, I am going to analyse a variety of aspects: first, I will look at the percentage of base forms, subjunctives, and modal verbs in dependent clauses containing a third person singular subject and compare it to the other persons. Finally, I am going to compare the development of the subjunctive in the third person singular and in the other persons.

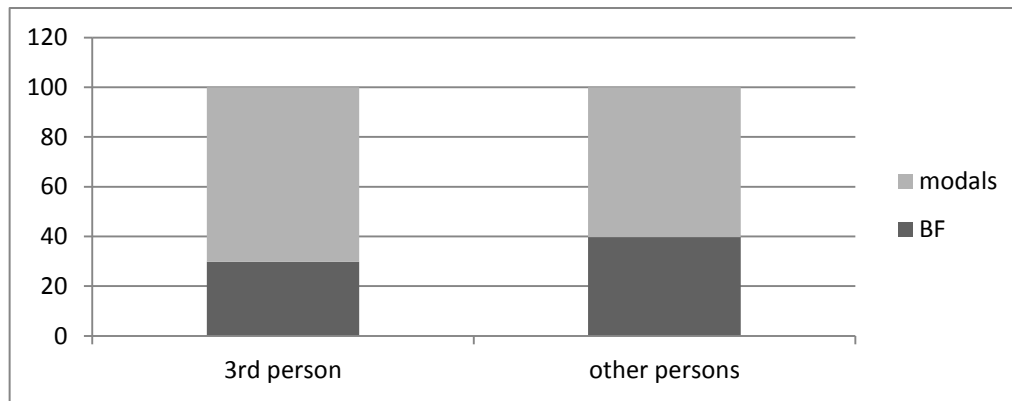


Figure 7: Ratio between base forms and modals in different persons

As Figure 7 depicts, in subordinate clauses with a third person singular subject, the subjunctive amounts to 29.8 percent, whereas the modals constitute 70.2 percent. In the other persons altogether, however, the base form, which may be either a subjunctive or an indicative, is slightly more frequent (39.7%). As it is not clear whether the base forms in the other persons are subjunctives or indicatives, it is difficult to interpret these results. At first glance, the numbers in Figure 7 seem to contradict Hypothesis 1, as they indicate that the subjunctive is less frequent in the third person singular than in the other persons. However, it may also be the case that the forms in the other persons are all indicatives and that the subjunctive indeed occurs more often in the third person singular. For the calculation of the percentages above, I excluded all clauses containing a form of *be*, as it is the same for all persons and thus would falsify the results.

Nevertheless, the assumption that fewer modal verbs should be found in the third person singular proves to be wrong according to Figure 7, as the modals are more frequent than the subjunctive in this person. This means that speakers obviously prefer modal verbs in order to explicitly mark their utterances as commands, etc. Yet, for a clear solution to this problem, it will be crucial to look at the development of the base form and the subjunctive over time, as Figure 7 only presents the average of the whole data.

For my main question in this thesis as to why the subjunctive still exists in Contemporary English, Figure 7 suggests that speakers still make use of it in the third person singular, where it is distinct from the indicative. Thus, in those contexts where it is visible, it still occurs and fulfils the function of indicating wishes, orders,

commands, etc. Finally, I am going to analyse whether the development of base forms and subjunctives over time also confirms this.

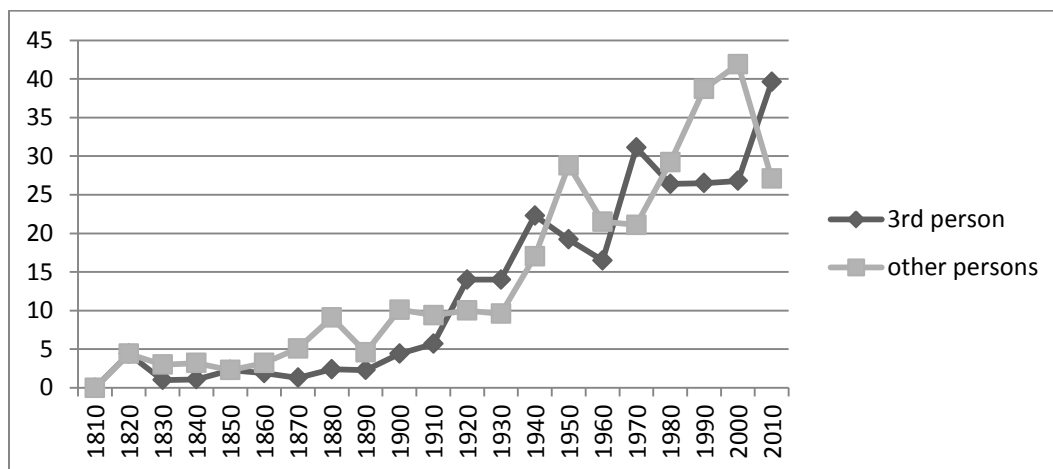


Figure 8: Development of base forms and subjunctives in different persons

Before I discuss Figure 8 in detail, I must point out that the percentages in it again exclude all sentences containing a form of *be*, for the same reason that I mentioned above.

The development of the percentage of base forms and subjunctives in the different persons over the last two centuries mirrors the general development of the two forms in this time, as it indicates an (almost) steady increase in all persons. The graphs also suggest that, due to the rise of base forms and subjunctives, the modal verbs must have declined at the same time. Thus, the argument that the modals are less frequent today and that the subjunctive is preferred in the third person singular is true, according to Figure 8.

Figure 8 can also be interpreted with regard to the general question of the frequency of indicatives and subjunctives, as the numbers indicate that both forms observe a considerable rise between 1810 and 2010. The graphs furthermore indicate that the ratio between these forms was mostly equal, but that the variation is greater today than in the 19th century.

Overall, it is difficult to say whether Hypothesis 1 is valid, as it is not clear whether the ambiguous base forms in the first and second person singular and plural and in the third person plural are subjunctives or indicatives. If they are all subjunctives, the

hypothesis is wrong, as the subjunctive would then be more frequent in the other persons than in the third person singular. However, if they are all indicatives or partly indicatives and partly subjunctives, Hypothesis 1 would be true, as the subjunctive would occur more often in the third person singular than in the other persons. For my conclusion to this hypothesis, I assume that some of the ambiguous base forms are subjunctives, whereas some are indicatives, and therefore, I state that the hypothesis is valid.

To sum up, the subjunctive is still frequently used in the third person singular, as it explicitly serves to denote commands etc. Nevertheless, modal verbs are also found quite often in this context, which suggests that many speakers want to be on the safe side and prefer using a modal to convey orders, etc. However, I claim that as long as the subjunctive can be differentiated from the indicative on the formal level, be it only in one person, it will survive.

6.2. Hypothesis 2

For checking Hypothesis 2, I am going to investigate the distribution of subjunctives, base forms, and modals for each of the verbs in my study, and also the percentage of third person and passive subjunctives, to find out whether this influences the ratio. Moreover, I will take a look at the distribution of subjunctives and modal verbs in the different genres and see whether conclusions can be drawn from these numbers. Finally, I am going to analyse the frequency of the individual modals to examine the preferences of each matrix verb and the development in the ratio between subjunctives, base forms, and modals to identify any changes that occurred in the last two centuries.

Before I turn to the analysis, however, I need to point out that the individual numbers for each verb and period are sometimes very low and sometimes very high. The variation in absolute numbers goes from e.g. five tokens of *beg* in the period of 1810 to e.g. 221 instances of *prefer* in the 1990s. Thus, in the following section, I will be stating several times that the percentages for individual periods need to be disregarded due to the low amount of tokens for these periods. Moreover, my findings for this hypothesis must be regarded with caution, as my interpretations will

sometimes be quite tentative when they rely on verbs and periods with fewer tokens. For the absolute numbers for each verb and period, look at the database on the enclosed CD.

Advise:

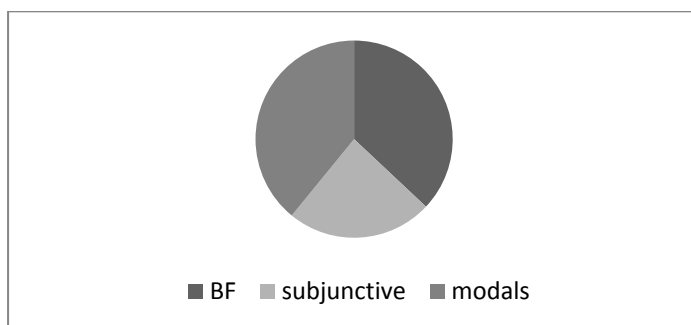


Figure 9: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *advise*

As can be seen in Figure 9, *advise* takes base forms in 37 percent of all dependent clauses. The subjunctive, on the other hand, can be found in 23.9 percent of subordinate clauses, whereas modal verbs add up to 39.1 percent. From this figure, one can deduce that the subjunctive is more frequent after *advise* than generally (20%). Yet, in terms of lexical solidarity these numbers do not allow for any conclusions, as they indicate a competition between base forms and modal verbs, while the subjunctive seems to be less important. Nevertheless, a collocation of *advise* with the subjunctive can be excluded according to Figure 9. The factors that could influence the preference of one form or the other will be examined in the following section.

As concerns the rate of third person subjunctives, it is also quite high in the case of *advise*, where 39.3 percent of all subjunctives occur with a third person. Yet, modal verbs are found even more often with a third person subject (50.3%). Therefore, the person of the dependent clause is no indication of the choice of mood for this matrix verb.

Also, the explanation that the subjunctive occurs more frequently in passive subclauses does not apply to the verb *advise*, since 40.3 percent of subjunctives and 48.7 percent of modals appear in the passive. Thus, the rate for modal verbs is even higher than that for subjunctives, so the voice of the dependent clause does not

explain which mood is chosen and it will be necessary to look for other influential factors, e.g. formality.

If formality had an impact on the choice of the subjunctive with *advise*, the formal genres should contain a higher number of subjunctives and the informal genres should favour modals. However, this does not apply to *advise*, either, as the majority of subjunctives is found in magazines (13.4%) and fictional texts (9.4%), while newspapers and academic articles only account for 7.4 percent and 3.7 percent, respectively. Modal verbs are popular in magazines (35.1%) and fiction (17.8%), too, but the percentages for newspapers (15.2%) and academic writing (14.1%) are also higher than with the subjunctive. The base form, finally, is definitely preferred in magazines (34.9%) and adds up to less than 10 per cent in the other genres. This means that the formal genres do not confirm the assumption that the subjunctive, which is attributed to formal style by e.g. González-Alvarez, occurs more often in these genres. However, magazines, which I would classify as rather informal, are more in favour of modal verbs and base forms, which could be indicatives, and clearly make use of the subjunctive less often. From these results, one can conclude that the argument of the impact of formality on the choice of the subjunctive does not count for *advise*. Nonetheless, the numbers from the genres confirm the general trend of *advise* to choose either a modal or a base form rather than a subjunctive (see Figure 9). This raises the question of which modal is favoured in subordinate clauses after *advise*.

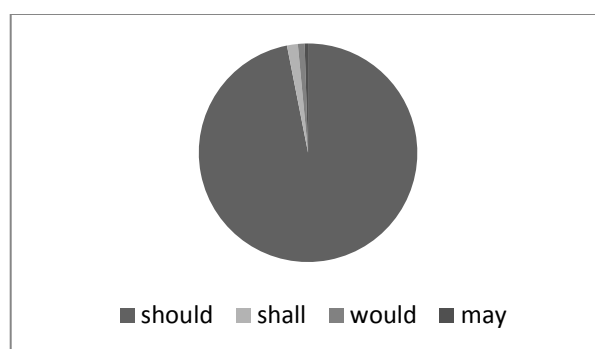


Figure 10: Percentage of individual modals

As Figure 10 illustrates, *advise* definitely favours the modal *should*, which accounts for 96.9 percent of all modal constructions after *advise*. The next frequent modals, *shall* (1.6%), *would* (1%), and *may* (0.5%) are far less common. This indicates that,

when a modal verb is used after mandative *advise*, the speaker wants to point out that he is giving an order and therefore chooses *should*, which most explicitly denotes an order. As I already stated in the description of Hypothesis 2, *advise* also has non-mandative meanings. Consequently, it is logical to underline the mandative meaning of one's statement with the help of a modal, in this case *should*, which is most effective for an order. Finally, the question remains of which form was most popular with *advise* in the course of the last two centuries and which one is preferred today.

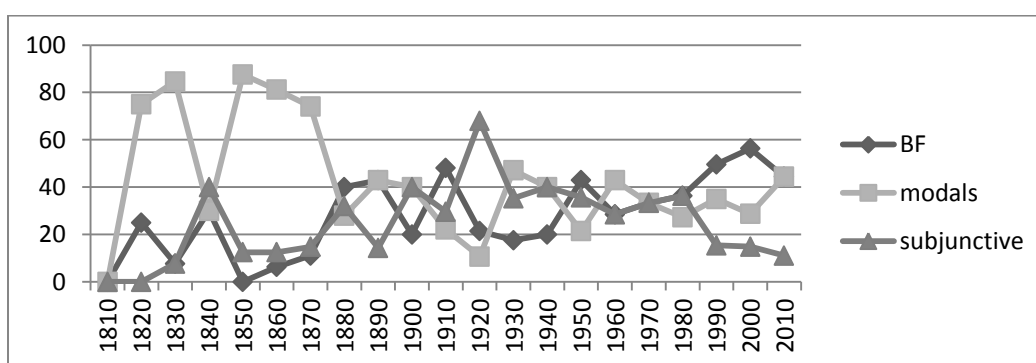


Figure 11: Development of base forms, subjunctives and modals for *advise*

The development of the ratio between subjunctives, base forms, and modals for *advise* indicates that modal verbs have been the favoured form almost throughout the 19th century. From 1880 onwards, however, the modals have observed a considerable decline, accompanied by a rise of base forms and subjunctives. During the 20th century, the three forms have been competing, but no clear preference for one form is obvious. The numbers for the decades from 1990 to 2010 suggest that the subjunctive is rather infrequent with *advise* nowadays and that the base form is, in fact, preferred. The percentages for 2010 are less meaningful, as they rely on few examples. Overall, Figure 11 confirms the findings of Figure 9, as it mirrors the preference of *advise* for base forms and modals over the subjunctive. This definitely contradicts Hypothesis 2, as no lexical solidarity of *advise* for the subjunctive could be identified. However, the remaining matrix verbs will show whether *advise* is only an exception, or whether the hypothesis is, indeed, wrong.

To sum up, the matrix verb *advise* does not show lexical solidarity for the subjunctive. Yet, it partly confirms the assumption that modal verbs should occur more often with *advise*, as they serve to indicate the mandative meaning of this verb, which is less

clearly expressed by the subjunctive. Nevertheless, the base form is quite frequent, too, so it may be the case that speakers dispense with explicitly marking their utterances as orders by using a modal verb and have confidence that the mandative meaning becomes obvious from the context.

As regards my general question of why the subjunctive still exists today, the verb *advise* does not allow for a definite answer to this question, as it rather speaks to an extinction of the subjunctive, which is indicated by the drop in frequency over the 20th century. Therefore, it will be necessary to look at the other matrix verbs.

Beg:

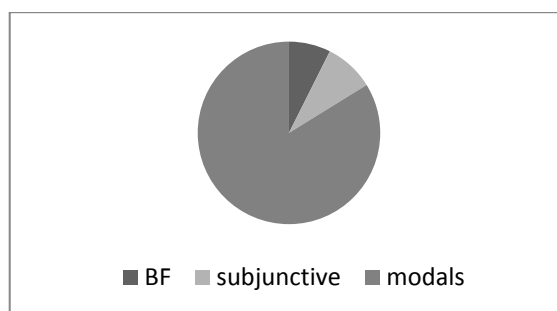


Figure 12: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *beg*

The matrix verb *beg* shows a clear favour, as it takes a modal verb in 83.8 percent of all dependent clauses. The subjunctive and the base form, on the other hand, only occur in 8.8 percent and 7.4 percent of subordinate clauses. This suggests that *beg* forms a collocation with modals, which raises the question of what causes this frequent co-occurrence. In the following part, I will try to answer this question.

In the case of *beg*, the person of the subject in the dependent clause may have an impact on the choice of the subjunctive, as 54.2 percent of all subjunctive forms occur with a third person subject, whereas for modal constructions, the rate is only 47.6 percent. However, since the subjunctive is relatively infrequent with *beg*, it is difficult to draw substantiated conclusions and it would need a higher number of examples.

The data also indicates that the passive voice has more influence on the occurrence of the subjunctive in the case of *beg* than with *advise*, as 40.6 percent of subjunctives

appear in passive subordinate clauses, whereas for modals, the rate is only at 25.2 percent. Yet, as I stated above, the number of examples is too low to allow for generalisations.

As far as formality is concerned, it does not influence the choice of the subjunctive according to the data, as it is most frequent in fiction (27.1%) and magazines (11.5%), whereas in the formal genres, it only accounts for 8.3 per cent (newspapers) and 6.3 per cent (academic writing). The base form also occurs most often in fiction (29.2%) and is very rare in newspapers (2.1%) and academic journals (2%). This suggests that the formal genres tend to mark wishes, etc., either on the morphological or on the lexical level, and therefore take the base form less often. The modal verbs, then, are clearly more frequent in informal genres (69.6% in fiction, 16.1% in non-fiction, and 12.1% in magazines) than in formal ones (2% in newspapers and 0.2% in academic writing). From this, the conclusion can be drawn that modal verbs are typically used with *beg* in informal texts, which indicates some kind of lexical solidarity between this verb and modals in an informal context. This leaves the question of whether this is only due to formality or whether there are also other reasons. I will now investigate if the percentage of the individual modals that occur after *beg* provides more information.

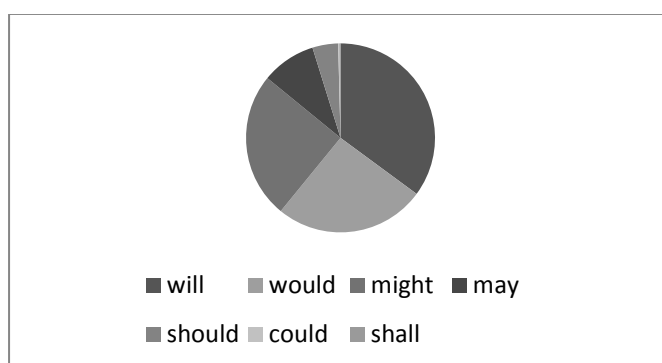


Figure 13: Percentage of individual modals

As Figure 13 depicts, the most frequent modals after *beg* are *will* (35.1%) and *would* (25.8%), followed by *might* (25%) and *may* (9.3%). *Should* (4.4%), *could*, and *shall* (0.2% each) are less common. Thus, *beg* shows a complete different preference than *advise*. In my opinion, this could be explained by the fact that the main function of mandative *advise* is to express orders and commands, whereas *beg* mostly conveys wishes. Consequently, as wishes are not as strong as orders and commands, it

would be inappropriate to choose *should* or *shall*, as these are strong expressions and denote obligation. *Will* and *would*, on the other hand, are weaker in that they refer rather to volition and therefore leave some choice on the addressee to fulfil the wish or not. Thus, the results are not surprising.

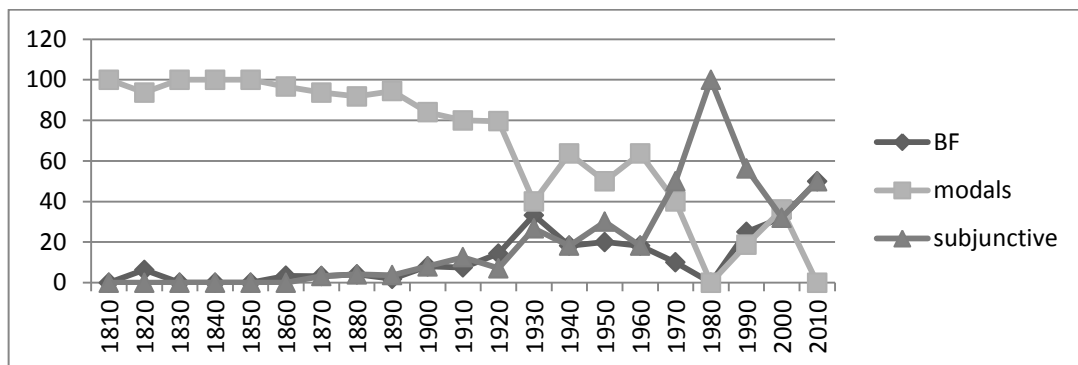


Figure 14: Development of base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *beg*

The reliability of Figure 14 must be doubted, since the numbers for a few decades (especially 1980 and 2010) are based on very few examples and are therefore not reliable. There are also several decades in which one of the three forms amounts for zero per cent. This, however, does not mean that the form died out in this decade, but simply that it did not occur in the corpus in mandative subclauses with the matrix verb *beg* at that time. Consequently, it is not possible to make a well-founded analysis of the development of the ratio between subjunctives, base forms, and modal verbs in the last decades. Although the figure suggests that the subjunctive and the base form are favoured by *beg* today, this cannot be validated for the reasons I explained above. Nevertheless, the modal verbs observe a certain decline in the course of the 20th century, which could confirm this. Still, I cannot draw any definite conclusions on the preference of *beg* for one of the forms today, but only for the general preference over the last two centuries, which indicates that *beg* favours modal verbs. This may confirm the hypothesis of lexical solidarity and point out *beg*'s solidarity to modals.

Command:

The two verbs I have analysed so far do not validate the hypothesis that the subjunctive is chosen out of lexical solidarity, as they both favour the modals and/or

the base form over the subjunctive. I will now check the matrix verb *command* to see whether it shows a different trend.

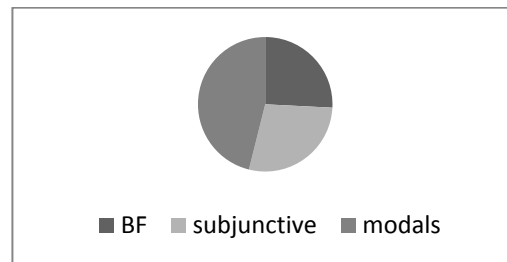


Figure 15: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *command*

The matrix verb *command* prefers non-inflected forms, as the base form (25.8%) and the subjunctive (28.1%) together account for more than 50 percent. The modal verbs add up to 46.1 percent and are definitely less common than with *beg*.

In the case of the subjunctive, the person of the subject in the dependent clause, as well as the voice seems to have an impact on its choice, as 52.2 percent of subjunctives occur with a third person subject and 59.4 percent are found in passive subclauses. Yet, also modal verbs are quite frequent in the third person (52.5%) and in the passive (48.3%). Therefore, these numbers do not explain the causes for the choice of one form or the other and further investigation is needed.

As regards formality, all three forms are most frequent in fictional texts, where the base form amounts to 28.7 percent, the subjunctive to 30.4 percent, and the modal verbs to 42.4 percent. Similarly, all forms are less frequent in newspapers and academic articles (5.1%, 0.7% and 7.2% vs. 3.6%, 3.6% and 4.2%, respectively). This suggests a certain preference of informal genres for modals, but definitely contradicts the theory that the subjunctive occurs mostly in formal style.

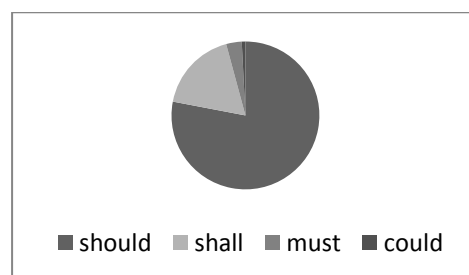


Figure 16: Percentage of individual modals

The percentages of the individual modals show that *command* definitely favours modal verbs that express an order, as *should* (78%), *shall* (17.8%), and *must* (3.4%) amount to almost 100 percent of all modals used with *command*. *Could* only accounts for 0.8 percent and can be considered insignificant. These findings can again be explained by the nature of the verb *command*, which serves to convey an order, and therefore requires a strong modal denoting the same meaning. As I already said above, *should* is a very strong and popular modal, so it is not surprising that it adds up to more than 75 percent.

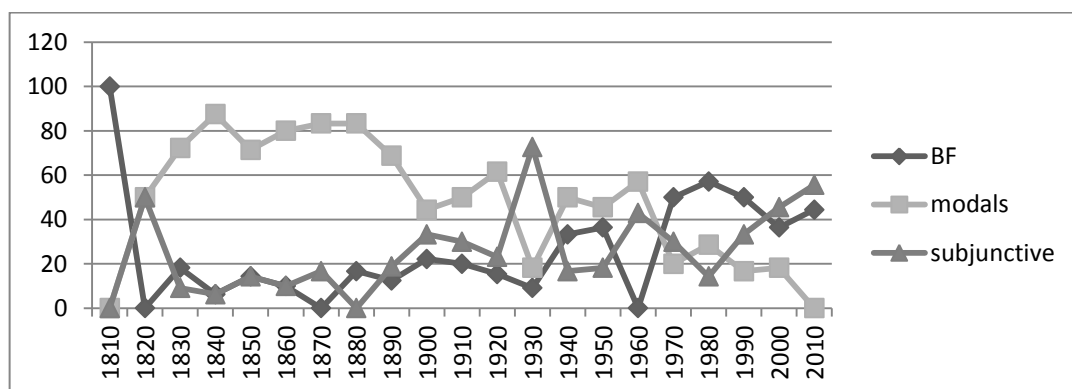


Figure 17: Development of base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *command*

The development of the ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals indicates that, whereas the modal verbs were preferred by *command* in the 19th century, they observe a significant decline in the course of the 20th century, which is accompanied by a rise in base forms and subjunctives. In the first half of the 20th century, the three forms were competing, although modals were still most frequent. From 1960 onwards, then, the other two forms increased considerably and outnumber the modal verbs today. The numbers for the early 19th century and 2010 are based on too few examples and are, therefore, not reliable. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the modals are less popular today. Still, Figure 17 does not provide a definite answer to the question of which form is favoured by *command* today, but it suggests that the base form and the subjunctive are preferred over modal verbs. Overall, in the case of the matrix verb *command*, it is difficult to identify a lexical solidarity for one of the three forms, which could mean that *command* simply has no lexical solidarity for any of these forms. This, again, would speak against Hypothesis 2.

Decree:

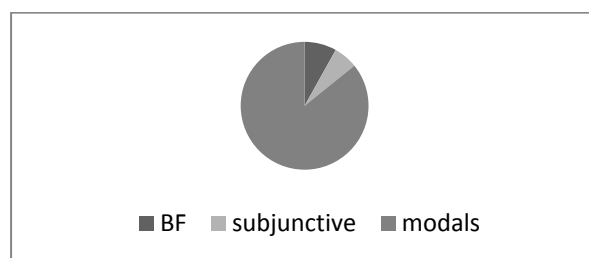


Figure 18: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *decree*

As Figure 18 illustrates, the matrix verb *decree* is clearly in favour of modal verbs, as they amount to 85.8 percent, as opposed to the base form and the subjunctive, which only occur in 8.1 percent and 6.1 percent of subordinate clauses governed by *decree*. This indicates that *decree* has a lexical solidarity for modal verbs, but for definite conclusions, further details are needed.

The modal verbs are also more frequent in the third person (55.6%) than the subjunctive (42.9%), so in this case, the person of the dependent clause does not influence the choice of mood. In the passive, however, the subjunctive (47.9%) is more frequent than the modals (29.3%), so voice may have an impact on the mood that is used.

With regard to the genres, all forms are again most frequent in the informal ones. The base form and the subjunctive occur most often in magazines (20.2% and 13.4%), whereas they are less frequent in newspapers (8.4% and 5.9%) and academic writing (6.7% and 8.4%). The modal verbs, too, are most frequent in magazines (36.4%) and fiction (28.6%), and less frequent in newspapers (12.6%) and academic journals (7.3%). Nonetheless, as the percentages in informal genres are higher for modal verbs, this suggests a certain preference of these genres for this form. Also, the numbers for the base form and the subjunctive indicate that the base form is favoured over the subjunctive in informal genres. However, these are only trends and no definite evidence.

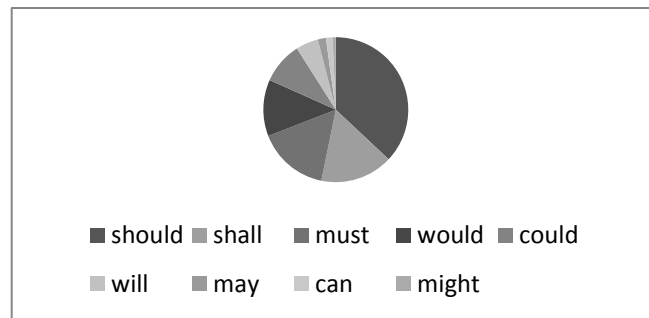


Figure 19: Percentage of individual modals

According to Figure 19, *decree* makes use of all modal verbs in its dependent clauses. Since *decree* expresses an order, *should* (37%), *shall* (16.2%), and *must* (15.9%) are again most frequent. Modals denoting permission (i.e. *may*, *might* and *can*), on the other hand, are less common and only amount to one per cent or less in each case. This confirms the trends of the previously analysed verbs. In order to clarify whether what Figure 18 portrays is indeed true, I am going to investigate whether it has always been the case the *decree* favoured modal verbs, or whether any changes in this preference have occurred.

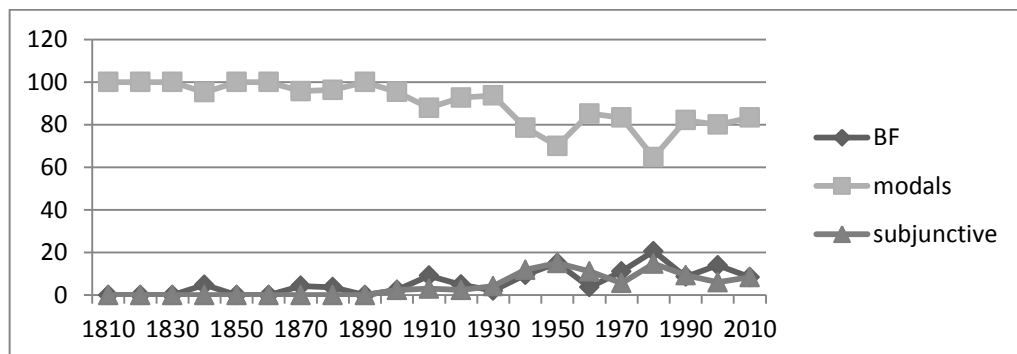


Figure 20: Development of base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *decree*

As the development of base forms, subjunctives, and modal verbs portrays, *decree* has always preferred modal verbs over the base form and the subjunctive, although there has been a slight decline in modals in the 20th century. The fact that the subjunctive and the base form are often at zero percent does not mean that these forms did not exist or that they were not used at all with *decree* in these decades, but simply that they did not occur in the corpus. Therefore, one should not over-generalise the findings for the 19th century. Generally, Figure 20 clearly speaks to a lexical solidarity of *decree* for modal verbs, which once again contradicts Hypothesis 2.

Direct:

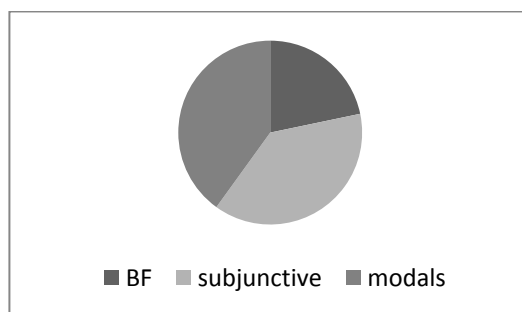


Figure 21: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *direct*

The percentage of subjunctives and modal verbs in Figure 21 indicates the preference of the matrix verb *direct* to take a non-inflected form (60%), 38.2 percent of which are clear subjunctives. Modal verbs, on the other hand, are found in only 40 percent of subordinate clauses after *direct*. This is interesting, as *direct* is the matrix verb with the highest amount of subjunctives thus far. In the following section I will investigate the reasons for this trend.

In the case of the subjunctive, its choice seems to be influenced by third person subjects, which amount to 63.7 percent of dependent clauses containing a subjunctive. These numbers suggest that speakers make use of the subjunctive, particularly in the third person, as it is most definite there. As concerns the passive voice, it accounts for 67.3 percent of subjunctives, so with *direct* it may be the case that formal texts favour the subjunctive. Yet, the rate is also relatively high for modal verbs, which appear in 54.3 percent of subordinate clauses with a third person subject and in 61.3 percent of passive sentences. Overall, this clearly speaks to a rather rare use of the base form after *direct*, which confirms the findings portrayed in Figure 21, and hints at a competition between the subjunctive and the modals.

According to the data, formality also has an impact on the choice of the subjunctive, as it is most frequent in newspapers (30.8%) and less frequent in magazines (11.3%) and fiction (11.5%). The base form is quite infrequent in all genres, the highest rates being in magazines (11.5%) and newspapers (11.2%). The modal verbs, on the other hand, occur most often in magazines (38.3%) and non-fiction (26.3%) and less often in newspapers (14.8%) and academic writing (2.5%). This definitely hints at a certain influence of formality on the choice of the subjunctive, which is typical of formal

genres in the case of *direct*, and modal verbs, which are characteristic of informal genres.

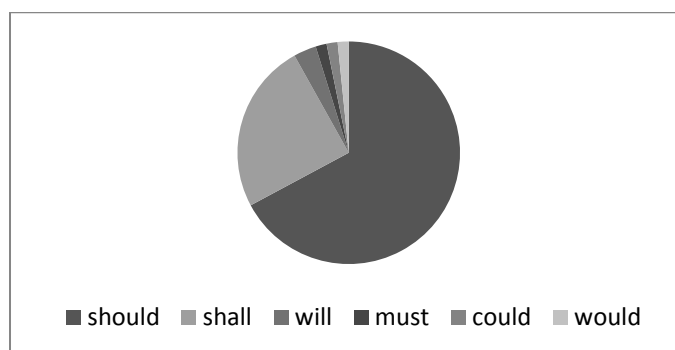


Figure 22: Percentage of individual modals

As can be seen in Figure 22, *direct* also takes *should* (67.1%) and *shall* (24.7%) in most cases, whereas *will*, *must*, *could*, and *would* account for less than ten percent altogether. This, again, confirms my previous expectations, as *direct* conveys a command and *should* and *shall* are the most popular modal verbs for expressing commands.

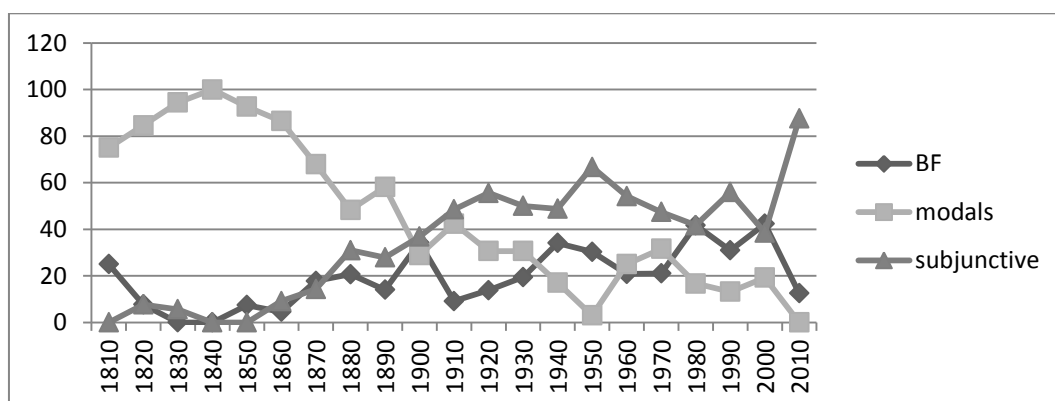


Figure 23: Development of base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *direct*

The matrix verb *direct* mirrors the general development of the modal verbs, as it observes a considerable decline in modals in the 20th century, accompanied by a rise in subjunctives and base forms. Therefore, my conclusion drawn from Figure 23 is that *direct* favoured modal verbs in the 19th century, whereas it prefers the base form and the subjunctive nowadays. The numbers for 2010 need to be interpreted with caution, as there were not many results for this period. Nonetheless, the percentages for the previous periods indicate that the modal verbs play a less important role in Contemporary English than in the first half of the 19th century. Still, this also means that *direct* does not show a clear solidarity for any of the three forms and that they

may be competing with one another. Consequently, the factors I mentioned above (third person singular subject, passive voice, formality) will influence the choice, as I already stated. Overall, *direct* is another matrix verb which contradicts Hypothesis 2.

Intend:

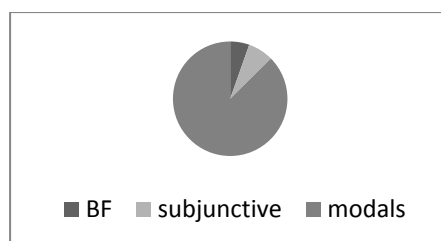


Figure 24: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *intend*

The matrix verb *intend*, on the other hand, is again clearly in favour of modal verbs, as they add up to 87.4 percent, in contrast to the subjunctive and the base form, which only occur in 7.2 percent and 5.4 percent of dependent clauses governed by *intend*. These results could be explained by the fact that *intend* has a variety of meanings, many of which are non-mandative. An example in which *intend* is used in a non-mandative sense would be *I intend that I go swimming today*, which refers to a plan rather than to a request. Consequently, the mandative meaning of *intend* may not always be obvious from the context. If speakers used a base form or a subjunctive, it could happen that the addressee would not realise that the speaker is requesting something and interpret the verb form as indicative and the utterance e.g. as neutral information on a plan. Therefore, to make sure that one's statement is a command, a modal verb is used that underlines the mandative meaning of the matrix verb.

Both modal verbs and subjunctives are quite frequent with third person subjects, as they account for 61.1 percent respectively 56.9 percent, so the person has no impact on the form that is chosen. The passive, too, has little influence on the choice between subjunctives and modal verbs, as only 33.3 percent of subjunctives and 21.5 percent of modals are found in passive subclauses. Still, this confirms the theory that the subjunctive occurs more often in passive sentences than the modals.

When it comes to formality, the subjunctive is most frequent in academic writing (20.6%), followed by fiction (8.8%) and magazines (8.8%). The base form accounts

for 14.7 percent in fictional texts and 10.8 percent in magazines. Modal verbs, too, occur most often in fiction (41.3%) and magazines (24.6%), and are rarer in newspapers (11%) and academic writing (6.1%). Therefore, genre seems to have at least some influence on the choice of the form, as the subjunctive dominates in a formal genre, whereas the modals are prevalent in informal genres.

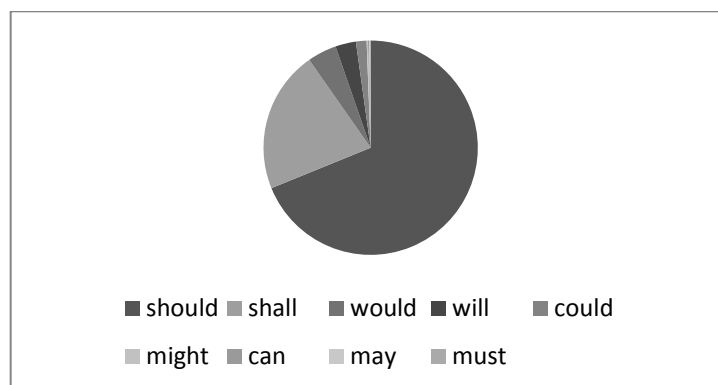


Figure 25: Percentage of individual modals

As Figure 25 depicts, modal verbs denoting a command are again most frequent with *intend*. *Should* (68.7%) and *shall* (21.4%) amount to almost 90 percent of all modal verbs used with *intend*. The other modals are employed, too, but so rarely that they only add up to roughly ten percent altogether. This confirms what I said above about the employment of modals to accentuate the mandative meaning of *intend*.

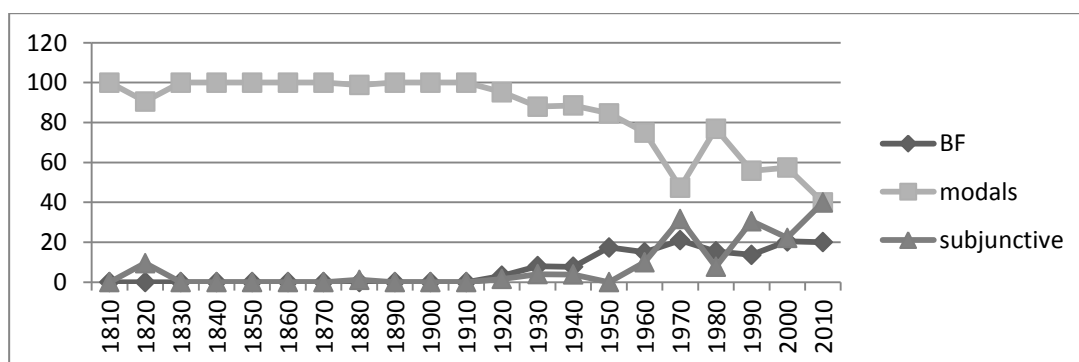


Figure 26: Development of base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *intend*

Figure 26 illustrates the development of the ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modal verbs for *intend*. It definitely suggests that *intend* preferred modal verbs throughout the 19th and early 20th century. Since 1950, however, this preference is less pronounced and the graph indicates a decline of modal verbs. Furthermore, according to this figure, the subjunctive and the base form were not used with *intend*

for nearly the whole of the 19th century. However, the truth of this is doubtful and I would rather conclude that it was used so rarely that it simply did not occur with *intend* in the corpus in these periods. The numbers for the late 20th century rest upon a high amount of entries and are, therefore, reliable. Consequently, this means that today, *intend* takes all forms and that there is, again, a competition between them. Overall, Figure 26 hints at a lexical solidarity of *intend* for modals in the 19th century. Yet, this solidarity no longer exists nowadays, as the modal verbs are less frequent, whereas the base form and the subjunctive occur more often. Consequently, it can be said that *intend* has no lexical solidarity for any of the forms in Contemporary English, which once more speaks against Hypothesis 2. This partly contradicts the findings of Figure 24, which suggested a clear favour of *intend* for modal verbs. Thus, it may be the case that *intend* lost this solidarity because speakers no longer find it necessary to explicitly mark their statements as orders and have confidence that the mandative meaning of *intend* becomes clear from the context.

Plead:

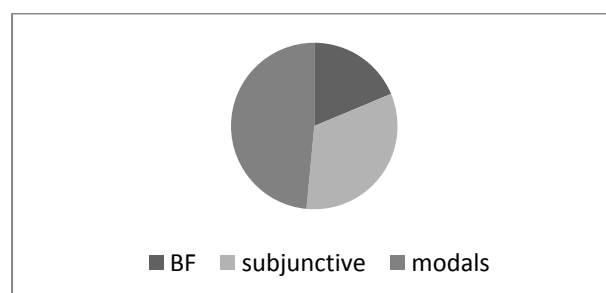


Figure 27: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *plead*

The percentage of non-inflected forms (subjunctives and base forms) and modals for *plead* is almost balanced, as 51.5 percent of subordinate clauses after *plead* contain either a subjunctive (32.8%) or a base form (18.7%), whereas 48.5 percent have a modal verb. Therefore, Figure 27 again suggests that the three forms are competing over *plead* and that there is no definite lexical solidarity for any of the forms.

Also in the third person, both subjunctives and modals have a high frequency, as 63.7 percent of subjunctives and 71.9 percent of modals occur with a third person singular subject. Consequently, this indicates that the person of the subject in the dependent clause has no impact on the choice of the form. Yet, the high rate of modal verbs with third person singular subjects suggests that speakers frequently

make use of modals to point out the mandative meaning of their statements, as *plead* is a verb which itself has a rather weak mandative meaning (like *beg*) and, therefore, requires support by a modal. Whether this also becomes obvious in the development over time will be analysed later in this section.

The passive, on the other hand, seems to favour the choice of the subjunctive, as 45.1 percent of subjunctives are found in passive subclauses, whereas the rate for modal verbs is only at 22.9 percent. This also supports the argument that the subjunctive occurs more often in passive constructions.

Genre, though, is no indicator of the form that is used, as both the subjunctive (20.6% in magazines and 17.6% in fiction) and the modal verbs (30.2% in magazines and 32.3% in fiction) are most frequent in the informal genres and occur less often in newspapers (12.7% subjunctives and 20.8% modals) and academic writing (5.9% subjunctives and 3.1% modals). The base form, too, shows the highest percentages for fiction (11.8%) and magazines (8.8%), followed by newspapers (7.9%). These numbers do not permit any conclusions to be drawn on the impact of formality on the form that is chosen. Consequently, further investigation of the influencing factors will be necessary.

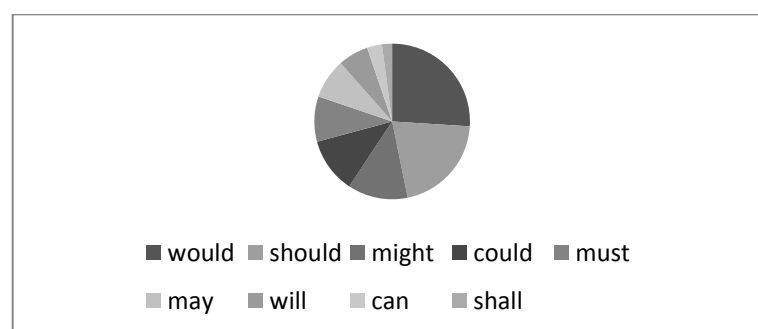


Figure 28: Percentage of individual modals

Figure 28 portrays the percentages of the individual modals that are used with *plead*. Unlike most other matrix verbs, *plead* takes *would* most often (26%), and *should* comes in only the second position (20.8%). *Might* (12.5%), *could* (11.5%), and *must* (9.4%) are also quite frequent, while the rest add up to less than 25 percent altogether. It is interesting that *plead* is the only matrix verb occurring with all modals. The reason for this may be that it has multiple meanings, therefore allowing for its employment in various contexts, in which different modals are required to express a

particular meaning. On the one hand, *plead* denotes wishes, where it is most likely that *will* and *would* accompany it, but, as Figure 28 shows, it is also used with modal verbs that convey obligation (*should*, *shall*, and *must*) and permission (*may*, *might*, *can*, and *could*). Obviously, the context of hypothetical wishes is most common, as *would* accounts for more than a quarter of all modals.

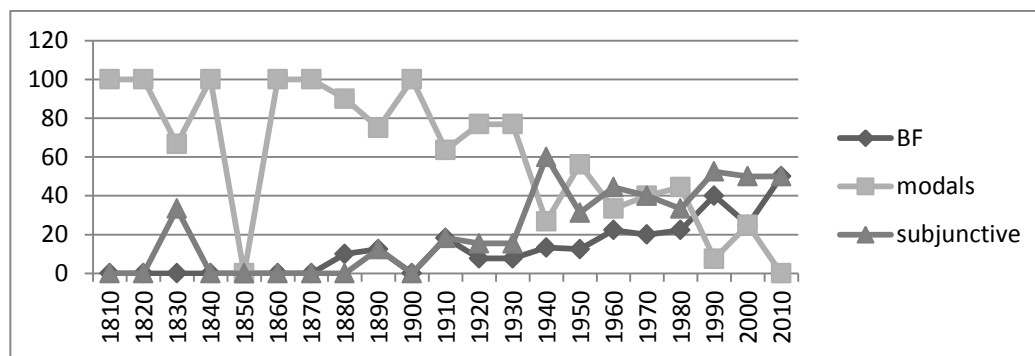


Figure 29: Development of base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *plead*

In Figure 29, there are again several numbers that are not meaningful, since they rest upon too few examples, in particular those for the early 19th century and for 2010. Also the percentages for 1850 must be interpreted cautiously, as neither the base form, nor the subjunctive, nor the modal verbs occurred with *plead* in this period. This, of course, does not mean that the forms were not used at all in this decade. The development for the other periods suggests that *plead*, like most of the other verbs, favoured modal verbs in the 19th century and that this preference was lost in the second half of the 20th century. As the numbers for 1990 and 2000 rely on relatively numerous tokens, one can conclude that *plead* nowadays takes the subjunctive and the base form more often than modal verbs, although the discrepancy is not dramatic. Overall, with *plead*, again, all three forms are competing nowadays and no lexical solidarity for one form can be identified in Contemporary English. Thus, Hypothesis 2 is also invalid according to the results for *plead*.

Prefer:

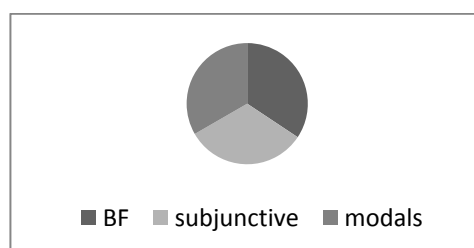


Figure 30: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals for *prefer*

As Figure 30 illustrates, *prefer* takes all three forms roughly equally, as the base form accounts for 34.4 percent, whereas the subjunctive adds up to 32.4 percent and the modal verbs constitute 33.4 percent. This is interesting, as *prefer* is the only verb where the percentages are so even. Consequently, the question arises of whether this relationship has always been like that, or whether one form has been favoured at a certain time and has then been replaced by another form, which causes this overall result. The answer to this question will be provided by Figure 32.

The person of the subject in the subordinate clause does not influence the choice of either form, as both the subjunctive (48.6%) and the modals (59.1%) frequently occur with a third person subject. *Prefer* is another matrix verb with a rather weak mandative meaning. Therefore, it is not surprising that modal verbs are so frequent with third person singular subjects. However, the high percentage for the subjunctive also suggests that speakers trust in the clearness of the subjunctive in this person and make use of it to stress the mandative meaning of *prefer*.

The impact of the passive on the form that is chosen is even less important, as only 20.5 percent of subjunctives and 17.3 percent of modal verbs appear in passive sentences. Nevertheless, the rate is again higher for the subjunctive, which speaks to the theory that it is more frequent in the passive than modals.

As regards the subjunctive, formality seems to have some influence on its choice, as it occurs quite often in newspapers (14.5%). Yet, the percentages for magazines (12.3%) and fiction (9.2%) are also relatively high, so the impact of genre is only partial. The base form, however, is quite frequent in newspapers, too, as it accounts for 12.5 percent in this genre, followed by magazines (12.2%) and fiction (11.9%). The choice of modal verbs, on the other hand, seems to be strongly influenced by genre, as they are most frequent in fiction (56.5%) and magazines (21.3%) and rare in newspapers (7.3%) and academic writing (1.3%). Generally, formality probably has more impact on the choice of modals, as these occur most often in informal genres, whereas the subjunctive and the base form show lower percentages for the individual genres and are therefore less affected by formality.

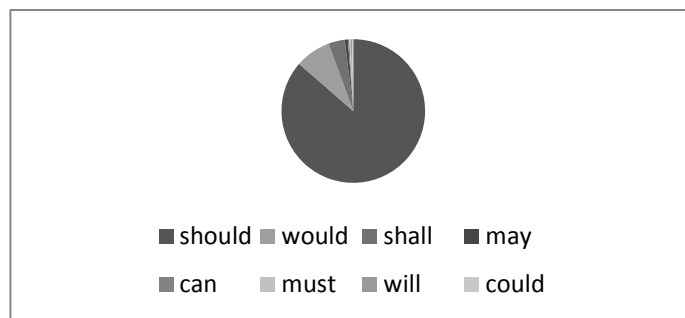


Figure 31: Percentage of individual modals

The distribution of the individual modals shows that, as with many other matrix verbs, *should* (86.4%) is by far the most frequent with *prefer*. *Would* (8%) and *shall* (3.7%) are only marginal, and the other modals are so rare that they only account for about two percent overall. These numbers indicate that *prefer* is most commonly used to denote obligation, which explains the high percentage of *should*. *Prefer* is obviously less typically chosen for wishes and permissions, as the other modals are so marginally found with it.

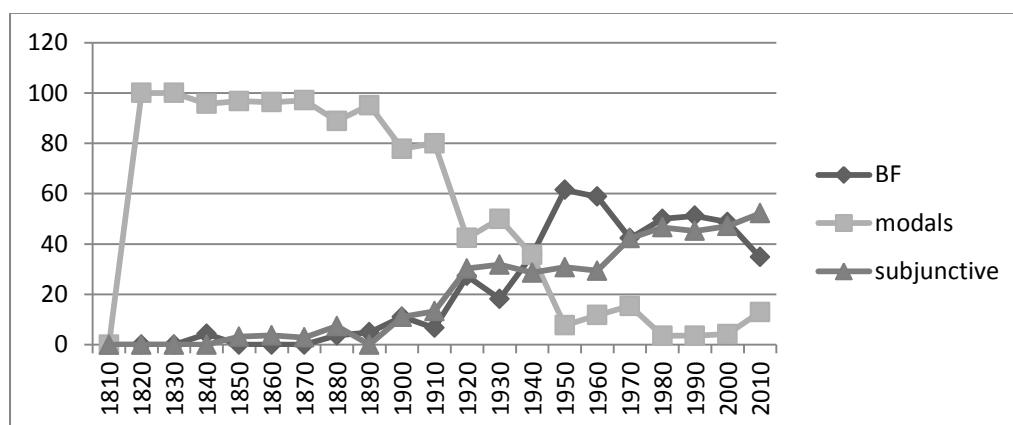


Figure 32: Development of base forms, subjunctives and modals for *prefer*

As concerns Figure 32, the percentages for the early 19th century are not meaningful, as they rest upon few instances, so the rise indicated from 1810 to 1820 was not as dramatic, since there were no results for 1810. The rest of the graph, however, is reliable and suggests that *prefer* definitely favoured modal verbs throughout the 19th century. This, however, was reversed in the 20th century, and today the base form and the subjunctive are much more common with *prefer* than the modals. Thus, what I hypothesised above is, indeed, correct, as the preference for modal verbs was completely lost to the advantage of the base form and the subjunctive, which explains the equal percentages in Figure 30. Overall, the numbers for the second half

of the 20th century indicate that *prefer* definitely has no lexical solidarity for modals any longer. However, the base form and the subjunctive are about equally frequent, so no solidarity for one of the two forms is observable. This once more invalidates Hypothesis 2.

After this detailed analysis of the individual matrix verbs, I am going to sum up my findings for Hypothesis 2.

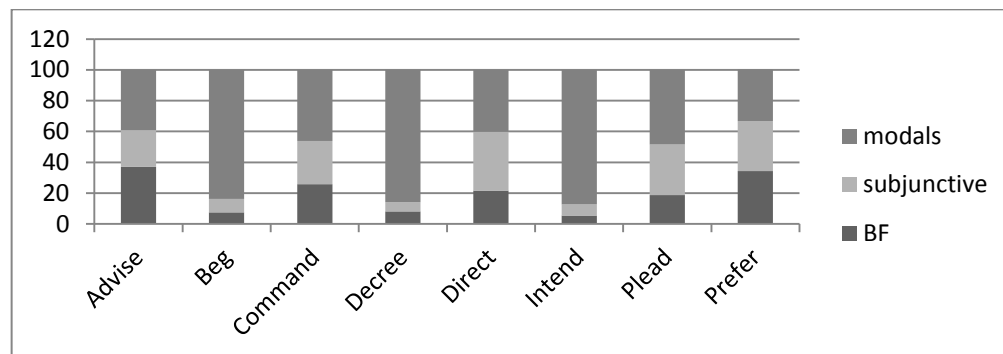


Figure 33: Overview of ratio for all verbs

Overall, some matrix verbs show a clear preference for modal verbs, namely *beg* (83.8%), *decree* (85.8%), and *intend* (87.4%). With *direct* and *plead*, however, the modals are competing with the subjunctive. The verbs *advise*, *command*, and *prefer*, finally, do not indicate a definite favour for any of the forms according to the general percentages.

Within the modal category, *should* occurs most often with six verbs, namely with *advise* (96.9%), *command* (78%), *decree* (37%), *direct* (67.1%), *intend* (87.4%), and *prefer* (86.4%). These are all verbs that express either an obligation or a request, and, therefore, the results are not surprising, as *should* is the strongest modal for obligation. With *beg*, on the other hand, *will* (35.1%) and *would* (25.8%) are most frequent, which mirrors that *beg* conveys wishes rather than obligation. *Plead*, then, takes *would* most often (26%), followed by *should* (20.8%) and *might* (12.5%). This indicates that *plead* fulfils a variety of functions and denotes wishes as well as orders and permissions. Overall, the majority of matrix verbs confirm the assumption that *should* should occur most often in a mandative context as it is the strongest mandative modal, although two verbs show different trends.

As concerns the validity of Hypothesis 2, this hypothesis is invalid according to the results presented in this section. In fact, none of the investigated matrix verbs shows a clear lexical solidarity for the subjunctive, but there are two groups of verbs, namely those that first preferred modal verbs and then indicate a variation of all three forms, and those which always showed this variation. *Decree* and *intend* even still take modals more often in Contemporary English, although the distance to the base form and the subjunctive is less distinct than in the 19th century. This is surprising in the case of *decree*, as this verb itself already has a strong mandative meaning and would therefore not require the support of a modal verb to stress this meaning. For *intend*, however, the mandative meaning is less clear, so it is logical that speakers resort to modals to underline it. The remaining verbs observe a considerable decline in modal verbs over the 20th century and do not indicate a favour for any of the forms today. Consequently, the three forms are competing with one another over these verbs. Overall, as none of my eight matrix verbs definitely favour the subjunctive, the hypothesis of lexical solidarity has been proven false. Rather, my results showed that the trend goes away from solidarity to variation. Therefore, it will be necessary to investigate what other factors influence the choice of the subjunctive.

When it comes to my main question of why the subjunctive still exists today, the findings for Hypothesis 2 allow for some conclusions in this respect. All matrix verbs observe a (more or less) considerable decline in modal verbs, which is accompanied by an increase in base forms and subjunctives. Therefore, the subjunctive may have (re-)replaced the modals in certain contexts. The reasons for this are difficult to explain in my opinion, as I would need further information on the usage of the forms with the individual verbs to draw well-founded conclusions. Probably the results for the remaining hypotheses can provide some of this information.

6.3. Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 suggests that the subjunctive occurs more often in passive constructions than in active ones. According to González-Alvarez, this is due to the higher percentage of passives in formal genres. In other words, those genres that are more formal also contain more passive sentences and, therefore, show a higher rate of subjunctives. In order to test the truth of this hypothesis, I am going to investigate

the ratio between active and passive sentences in each genre. If this mirrors the ratio between subjunctives and modal verbs, i.e. if the genres that show a higher percentage of subjunctives also show a higher percentage of passives, the hypothesis is valid. Additionally, I am going to investigate the percentage of subjunctives in both active and passive sentences in each genre to find out whether passive sentences show a higher rate of subjunctives. Finally, in order to prove the correlation between subjunctives and passives, I am going to analyse their development over time, since a rise in subjunctive forms would suggest an increase of passive sentences according to the hypothesis.

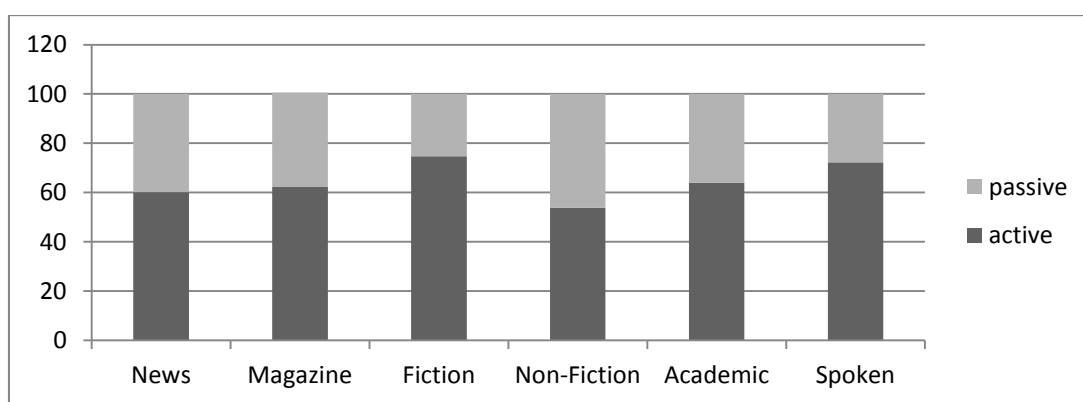


Figure 34: Ratio between active and passive sentences in genres

Figure 34 depicts that in all genres, active sentences outnumber passive constructions. Consequently, according to this chart, the level of formality of a genre has no influence on the percentage of passives. In other words, although González-Alvarez hypothesises that passive sentences are more frequent in formal texts, my data does not assert this. If it were the case that formality triggered the choice of the passive, newspapers and academic articles should show a considerably higher percentage of passives than magazines or fictional texts. Since this does not apply to my data, this part of González-Alvarez' hypothesis can be considered invalid. However, in order to fully disprove what González-Alvarez says, it will be necessary to check the percentages of active and passive subjunctives in the genres, as well. Consequently, if formal genres indicate a higher rate of passive subjunctives than informal ones, the conclusion can be drawn that genre does not influence the choice of the passive itself, but that it influences the choice of passive subjunctives. This would also indicate that the subjunctive occurs more often in the passive, which would confirm Hypothesis 3.

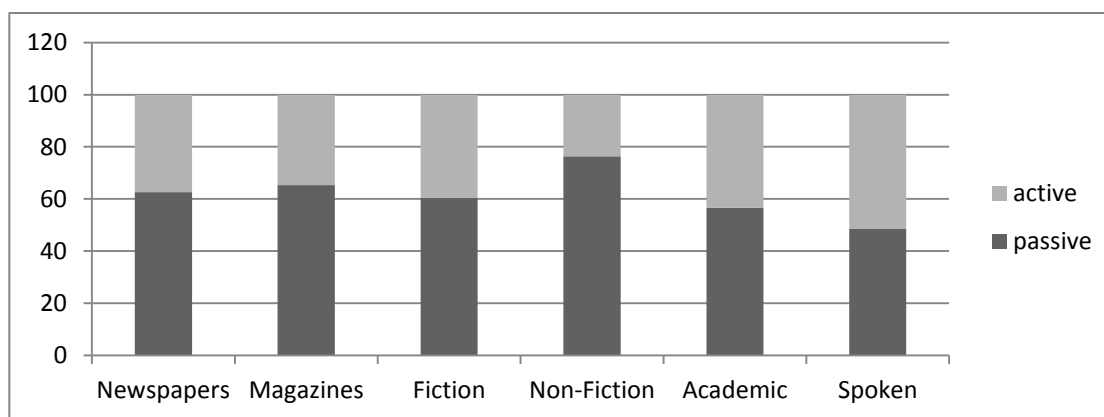


Figure 35: Ratio between passive and active subjunctives in genres

As can be seen in Figure 35, what González-Alvarez hypothesises is definitely not true according to my results. The percentage of passive subjunctives outnumbers that of active subjunctives in all genres apart from spoken texts, not only in the formal ones. In fact, the rate of passive subjunctives is the highest in non-fictional texts (76.4%) and magazines (65.3%), and newspapers (62.6%) only come in the third place. The genre of academic writing shows an even lower amount of passive subjunctives (56.6%). Spoken texts, finally, as I already said, are the only genre which contain more active subjunctives (51.5%). However, the results for this genre rely on a relatively low number of example sentences and are, therefore, less reliable than for the other genres. Overall, I could not demonstrate an impact of formality on the choice of passive constructions in general and of passive subjunctives in particular in my data. Therefore, the argument that formal genres favour the passive and, consequently, also favour the subjunctive is invalid according to my findings. After this proof of the non-existing influence of formality on the choice of the subjunctive, I am going to investigate the impact of the passive in general. First, I am going to analyse whether there is a correlation between the development of the subjunctive and the passive over time and whether the development of these constructions allows for a conclusion on the influence of the passive on the choice of the subjunctive.

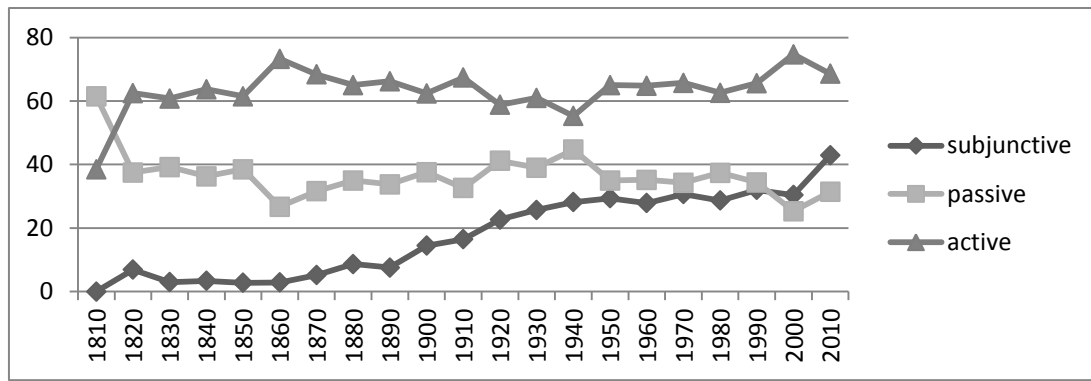


Figure 36: Development of subjunctives and passives over time

The results portrayed in Figure 36 are difficult to interpret. On the one hand, they seem to contradict the hypothesis that passive sentences have an impact on the choice of the subjunctive. If the frequency of the subjunctive depended on that of passive constructions, I hypothesised that the passives should undergo a development similar to that of the subjunctive. However, the above graph definitely shows that this was not the case. While the subjunctive experienced a more or less continuous increase over the last two centuries, the percentage of passive sentences was only affected by slight ups and downs and was always between roughly 30 and 40 percent. The numbers for the early 19th century, though, are based on relatively few results in comparison to the other decades and are, therefore, less significant. Nevertheless, this only indicates that the subjunctive did not increase because of an increase in passives. Thus, this means that the correlation between passives and subjunctives, which González-Alvarez suggests, did not always exist. In order to check the interdependence of subjunctives and passives more carefully, I also included the development of active sentences over time. Like the passive sentences, they remained mostly stable in the course of the last two centuries, and always constituted between roughly 60 and 70 percent. Overall, Figure 36 suggests that the choice of the subjunctive does not depend on the voice of the sentence, as the subjunctive developed independently from actives and passives. Therefore, it will be necessary to look at the general percentages of active and passive subjunctives in the corpora, also in comparison with the base form and the modal verbs, to draw a definite conclusion to Hypothesis 3.

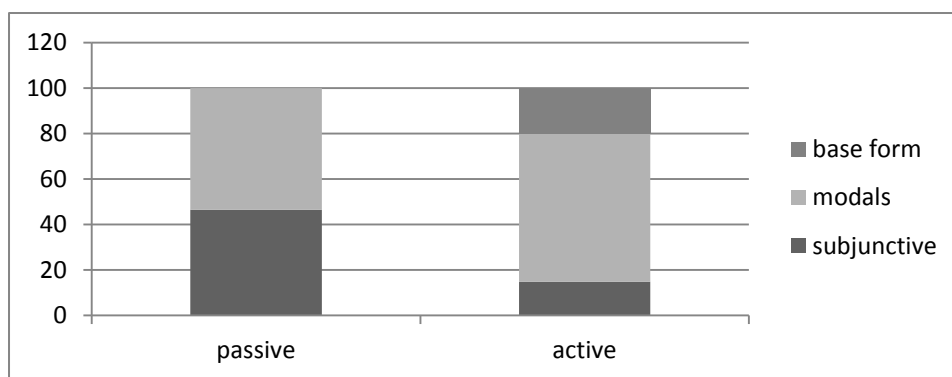


Figure 37: Ratio between subjunctives and modals in passive and active voice

As Figure 37 indicates, passive sentences show a considerably higher rate of subjunctives than active ones. Whereas the subjunctive accounts for 46.5 percent in the passive voice, it only adds up to 14.8 percent in the active voice. As concerns the base form, it is always formed with *be* in the passive and is therefore always a subjunctive in this voice. In active sentences, however, it differs from the subjunctive and amounts to 20 percent altogether. The results also portray that the modal verbs are much more frequent in active subordinate clauses (65.2%) than in passive ones (53.5%). The reason for this, as I stated in the description of Hypothesis 3, is that the subjunctive is visible for all persons in the passive voice, as it is formed with *be*, whereas it can only be distinguished in the third person singular in the active voice. Consequently, in active subclauses, more modals are used instead of the subjunctive to underline the mandative meaning. However, as Figure 37 only presents the average of the whole data, it will also be important to analyse the development of the three forms in active and passive sentences over time to draw definite conclusions.

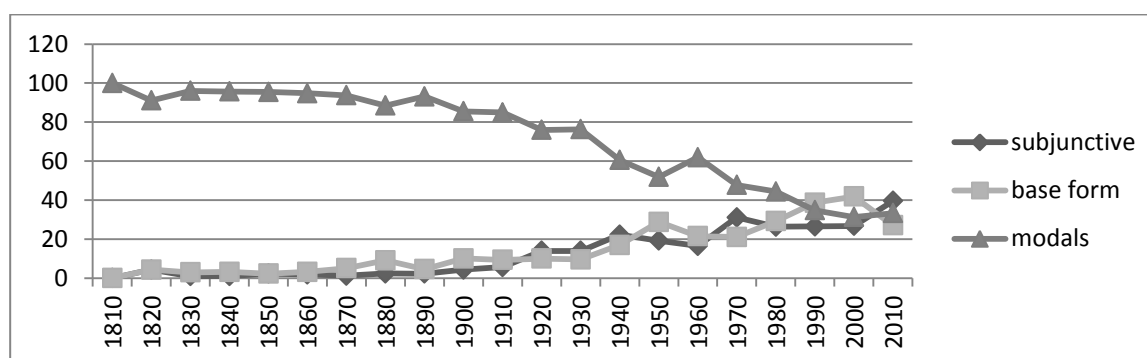


Figure 38: Development of subjunctive, base form, and modals in active sentences

As can be seen in Figure 38, in active sentences, modal verbs were clearly preferred throughout the 19th century, whereas the subjunctive and the base form only played a marginal role. In the first half of the 20th century, however, the modals began to

decline, and the other forms increased simultaneously. From 1970 onwards, the three forms were more or less equally frequent, so it can be said that in Contemporary English, active sentences show no definite favour for any form.

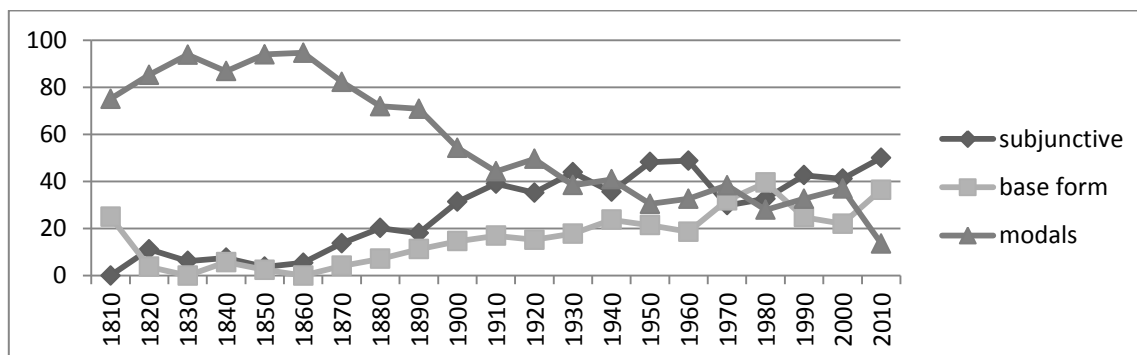


Figure 39: Development of subjunctive, base form, and modals in passive sentences

Figure 39 indicates a similar development of the three forms in passive sentences, which also clearly favoured modals in the 19th century. In the 20th century, though, the three forms have been competing against one another. Therefore, passive sentences do not show a definite preference for the subjunctive, which contradicts Hypothesis 3.

In summary, I checked the truth-value of Hypothesis 3 by looking at the percentages of active and passive sentences, as well as at the ratio between active and passive subjunctives in the individual genres. Moreover, I analysed the development of subjunctives, actives, and passives over time to see whether any correlation can be identified hereby. Finally, I counted the percentages of subjunctives in the passive and the active voice in general and over time and compared it to the base form and the modal verbs.

According to my findings, Hypothesis 3 is partly valid, as my results prove that in the whole data, the subjunctive is indeed more frequent in passive sentences than in active ones (see Figure 37). Thus, from this, one can conclude that the passive favours the choice of the subjunctive. This result is probably also most relevant, as it validates my general hypothesis. However, the theory that the impact of the passive on the choice of the subjunctive should also be detectable from the development of the two constructions over time proved to be wrong, as there is no correlation between the development of these forms in my data (see Figure 36). Moreover, also the development of the three forms over time indicates that passive sentences show

no definite preference for any form today, which again contradicts my hypothesis. Also, González-Alvarez' hypothesis of the influence of formality on the choice of the passive, that is accompanied by the choice of the subjunctive, is invalid, according to my results. As I illustrated above, the formal genres neither show a higher percentage of passive sentences in general, nor do they contain more passive subjunctives than the informal genres. Consequently, I conclude that González-Alvarez is wrong. Nevertheless, my findings are not absolute and it may be the case that González-Alvarez' statement applies to other contexts in which the subjunctive occurs. Therefore, for a sounder standing conclusion, further investigation with a larger amount of data and for different contexts would be necessary. This, however, would go beyond the scope of this thesis.

With regard to my general question for this thesis, I conclude from the results above that the subjunctive still exists in Contemporary English, as it is distinct from the indicative in all forms of the passive voice and is clearly identifiable in this context. Therefore, speakers make use of it more often in passive sentences. In active sentences, as I explained earlier, it is only visible in one person and, hence, occurs less often. This can be seen in the individual percentages of subjunctives in active (roughly 30% since 1980, see Figure 38) and passive sentences (between 40 and 50% since 1980, see Figure 39). Thus, my prediction for the future of the subjunctive is that it will still be used in the passive more often than in active sentences.

As I illustrated in this section, there is no correlation in the different genres between the choice of the passive and the choice of the subjunctive. Nevertheless, the question remains whether formality in general influences the occurrence of the subjunctive. This will be investigated in the next hypothesis.

6.4. Hypothesis 4

For Hypothesis 4, I am going to check whether the assumption is correct that the choice of the subjunctive depends on the formality of a text and whether it, therefore, occurs more often in formal genres. In order to test the truth-value of my hypothesis, I am going to analyse the distribution of the subjunctive, the base form, and the modal verbs in each genre, as well as the development of these forms in each genre from

1810 to 2010. First, however, I am going to give a general overview of the data on the various genres to show which findings will be most significant for my research.

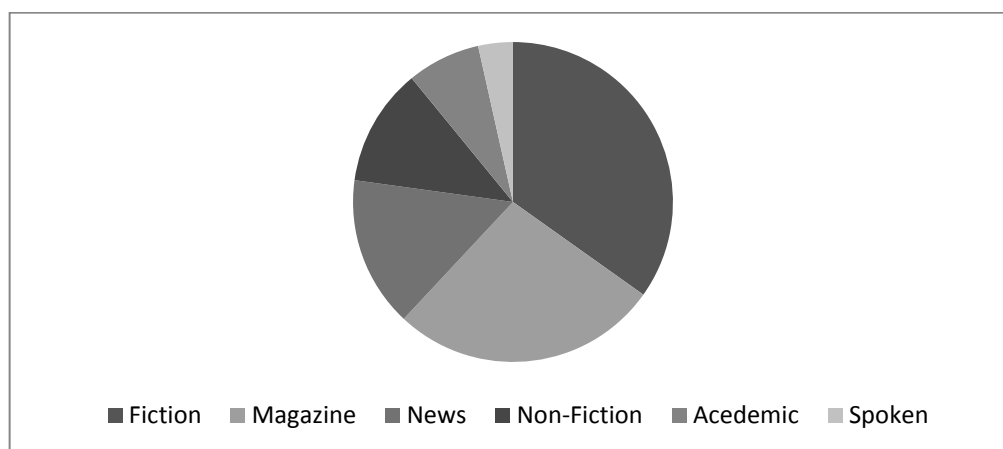


Figure 40: Distribution of genres in data

The general distribution of the various genres in the data, as Figure 40 illustrates, portrays that more than a third of all results come from fictional texts, followed by magazines and newspapers. This, however, can be explained by the fact that these genres are covered in both the COHA and the COCA, whereas non-fictional texts (COHA), academic writing, and spoken texts (both COCA) only appear in one corpus in each case. Therefore, as regards the further analysis of my data, the numbers for the first three genres will be more meaningful than for the other genres. As concerns the formality of the individual genres, newspapers and academic writing are the most formal genres in my corpora, whereas the other genres, in particular the spoken texts, are more informal (cf. e.g. Biber & Conrad 2009). Now I am going to start with an investigation of the general percentages of the three forms in the individual genres.

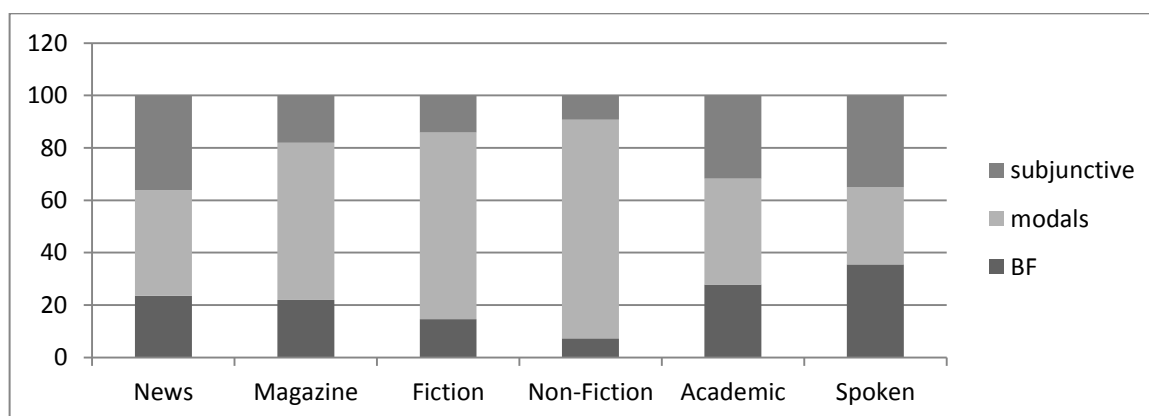


Figure 41: Ratio within genres

Overall, the ratio between subjunctives, base forms, and modal verbs is quite different from genre to genre. In newspapers, the modals (40.3%) are slightly more frequent than the subjunctive (36.1%), and the base form (23.5%) only comes in the last place. In magazines, the modal verbs (60.1%) are even more dominant and clearly outnumber the base form (21.9%) and the subjunctive (18%). The results for fictional texts are similar, as the modals (71.2%) again occur most often and leave the base form (14.6%) and the subjunctive (14.2%) in a marginal role. For non-fictional texts, the numbers are even more extreme, as the modal verbs account for 83.4 percent, whereas the subjunctive (9.3%) and the base form (7.3%) add up to less than 20 percent together. In academic articles, on the other hand, the subjunctive is much more frequent, with 31.8 percent, and occurs more often than the base form (27.8%), although it is still outnumbered by the modals (40.4%). In spoken texts, finally, the base form (35.5%) is the most frequent form, followed by the subjunctive (34.9%) and the modal verbs (29.5%). These findings confirm the hypothesis of formality's impact on the choice of the subjunctive, as the subjunctive is more frequent in the formal genres of newspapers and academic writing than in the more informal genres of magazines and non-fiction. However, the expectation that it would outnumber the modals in the formal genres is wrong, although its percentage is closer to that of the modal verbs in these genres than in the informal ones. This also proves that Close (1975: 47 quoted in Övergaard 1995: 37) rightly attributes the subjunctive to formal style. The results for the spoken genre, though, are rather surprising, as this genre is considered to be the most informal one, and, therefore, I would have expected a low percentage of subjunctive forms and considerably more base forms and modals. However, the data from spoken texts only covers the time since 1990, where the subjunctive was already more frequently used than in the previous decades and was competing with the modals, as has been shown above. This could be one reason for the low amount of modal verbs compared to relatively many base forms and subjunctives. Moreover, the spoken genre contains many texts from news broadcastings, which may have a similar style as newspapers and may, therefore, be more formal than everyday conversations and, consequently, contain more subjunctives. Yet, overall, the amount of data for this genre is not very large, so the results need to be regarded with caution and one should not overgeneralise. In my opinion, for a substantiated analysis of the employment of the subjunctive in

spoken language, more data will be needed that covers a broader range of texts. After this insight into the general distribution of the three forms in the genres, I am going to investigate the development of these forms over time in each genre.

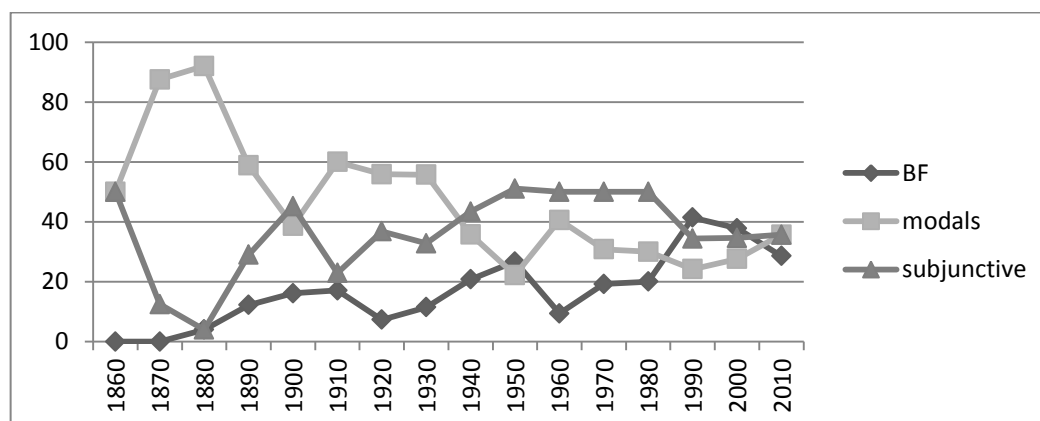


Figure 42: Development of ration in news

As has been shown in Figure 41, over the whole period of time covered in the data, the modals occur slightly more often in newspapers than the subjunctive. Generally, the newspapers that are included in the corpora only date from 1860 onwards. The reason for this could be that the most frequent ones were founded around this time or later (e.g. *New York Times* 1951, *Wall Street Journal* 1874). Although the graph suggests a dramatic decline of the subjunctive and an enormous increase of the modal verbs at the beginning of the time covered, these numbers have to be interpreted with caution, as the periods from 1860 to 1900 only contain very few examples and are, therefore, not significant. The numbers for the 20th century, however, are more meaningful and mirror the general development of the subjunctive, the base form, and the modal verbs in American English during the 20th century. From 1910 onwards, the modals experienced a more or less steady decline, whereas the subjunctive and the base form increased at the same time. The numbers for the last decades indicate that newspapers show no clear preference for any of the forms nowadays, and suggest that they are competing against one another.

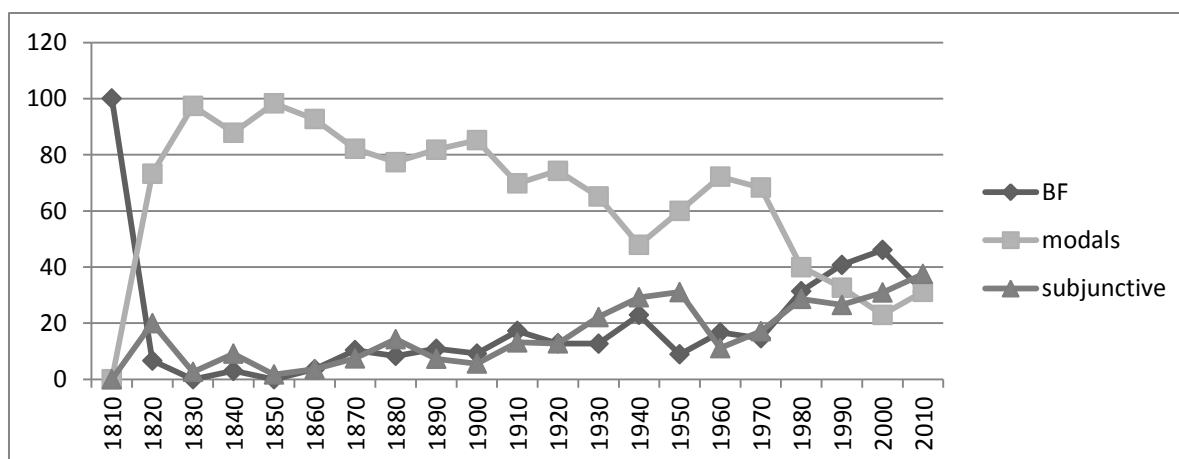


Figure 43: Development of ratio in magazines

As concerns magazines, the same is true for this genre as for newspapers, namely that the early periods (in this case 1810 and 1820) consist of very few examples and are, therefore, not meaningful. Yet, from 1830 onwards, the amount of data is larger and indicates a similar trend as the data on newspapers, that is to say, that the subjunctive and the base form experienced a gradual increase, while the modals decreased simultaneously. Nevertheless, it can be said that the modal verbs were much more common than the subjunctive and the base form until 1970. Thus, it is only in the last few decades that the modals lost their dominant role and that the three forms occur more or less equally often. Thus, in magazines, just as in newspapers, no form is definitely preferred today.

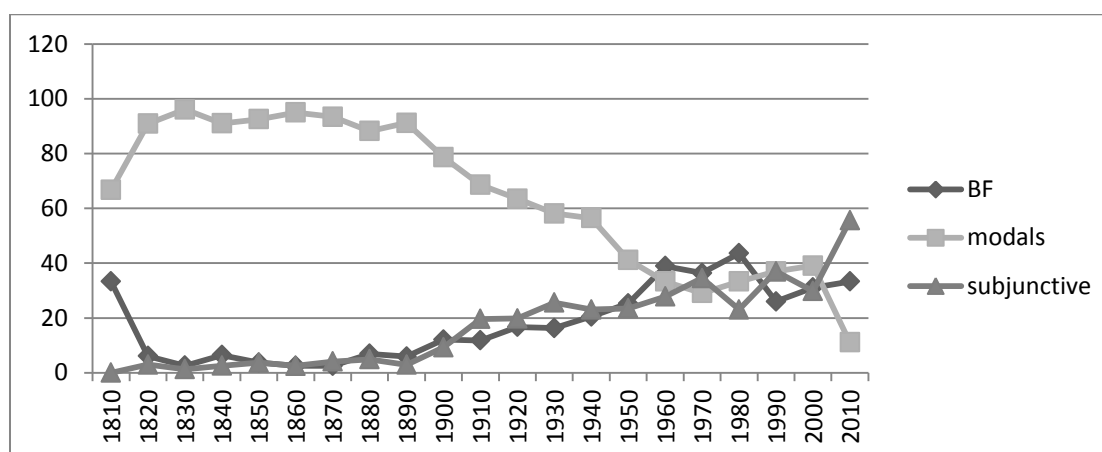


Figure 44: Development of ratio in fiction

The data for fictional texts presents a similar development to that of the previously discussed genres, as it also proves the rise of the subjunctive and the base form, and the fall of modal verbs. Whereas the modals clearly dominated the genre during the 19th century, they were affected by a gradual decline in the course of the 20th century.

Although the percentages for 2010 in Figure 44 suggest that the subjunctive is much more frequent than the modals today, these numbers are not significant as they are based on very few results. Consequently, the conclusion I draw from Figure 44 is similar to that of the previous genres: fictional texts, too, show no favour for any form in Contemporary English.

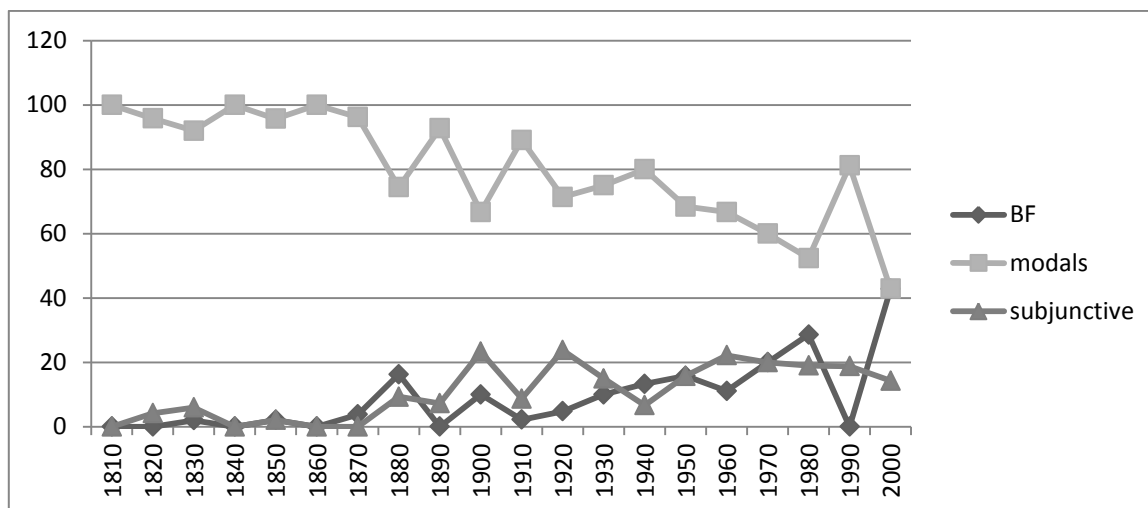


Figure 45: Development of ratio in non-fiction

As I already stated above, the figures for the remaining genres will be less significant than the others, as these genres are only included in one corpus in each case. As for Figure 45, it contradicts the previous ones, as the modal verbs are more frequent throughout the whole period of time covered, except for the 2000s, when they are equally as frequent as the base form. Also, the decline of modals and the rise of the subjunctive and the base form are less pronounced than for the other genres. This also explains the high percentage of modals in the overall distribution in the genre. There are several decades in which either the subjunctive or the base form amounts to zero percent. This, as I already explained in the discussion of previous figures, does not mean that the forms did not exist, or that they did not occur in the genre at all in these periods, but only that the corpus contains no example of them for the decades in question.

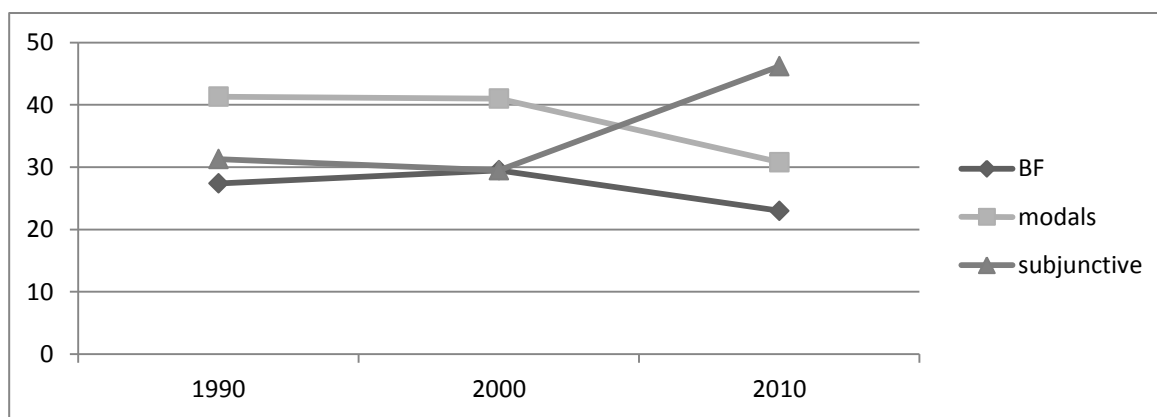


Figure 46: Development of ratio in academic writing

Figure 46 illustrates the numbers for the genre of academic writing, which, as I already said, are less important for my research, as they rely on fewer examples and only cover a restricted period of time. Consequently, although the above graph suggests that the subjunctive is more frequent than the modals and the base form today, this must be doubted, as this decade contains fewer sentences than the other two and, therefore, has less significance. Overall, I cannot draw any substantiated conclusions on the question of which form is favoured in academic writing from my results, but nonetheless, they also indicate a competition between the three forms.

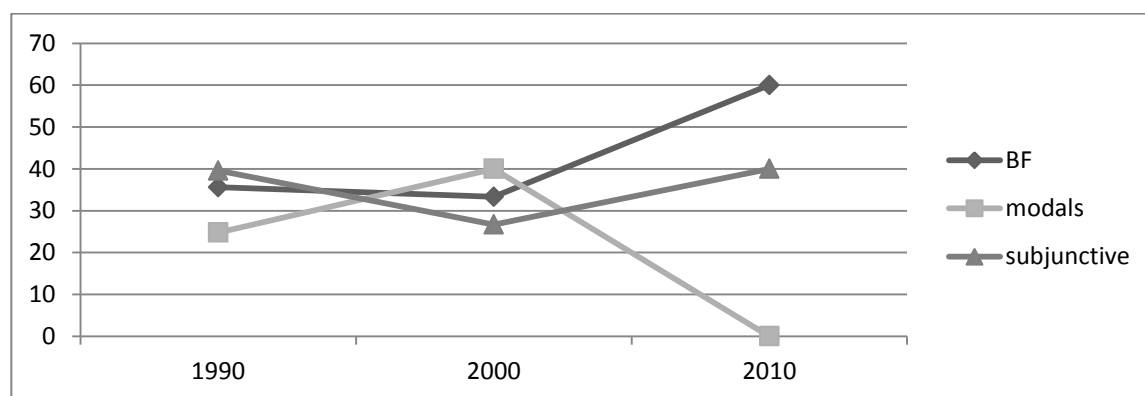


Figure 47: Development of ratio in spoken texts

As the amount of data on spoken texts is extremely low (only four percent of the whole data), it is difficult to draw sound standing conclusions from it. Therefore, the percentages for the individual forms are doubtful, as they also indicate that the subjunctive and the base form occur much more often today than the modals, which do not exist according to Figure 47. This, of course, is false and I would suggest to disregard the numbers for 2010 and focus on the other periods, which contain many more examples. The percentages for 1990 and 2000 mirror the findings for the other

genres and hint at a roughly equal distribution of the three forms in spoken language today. However, as I stated above, a larger amount of data is necessary for a well-founded analysis of spoken language.

After my analysis of the overall distribution of the subjunctive, the base form, and the modal verbs in the individual genres and the development of the forms in the genres, I am going to finish my investigation of formality's influence on the choice of these forms by analysing the preferences of individual texts within the genres. For this, I am going to look at the most frequent sources of each genre to test whether individual texts mirror the overall trends illustrated above (Figure 41). My hypothesis is that e.g. if the subjunctive is more frequent in newspapers than in magazines, it should be more frequent in all newspapers than in all magazines. The following section will show whether this is true, or whether there are certain texts that conform to the overall preference of their genre, whereas others have different favours.

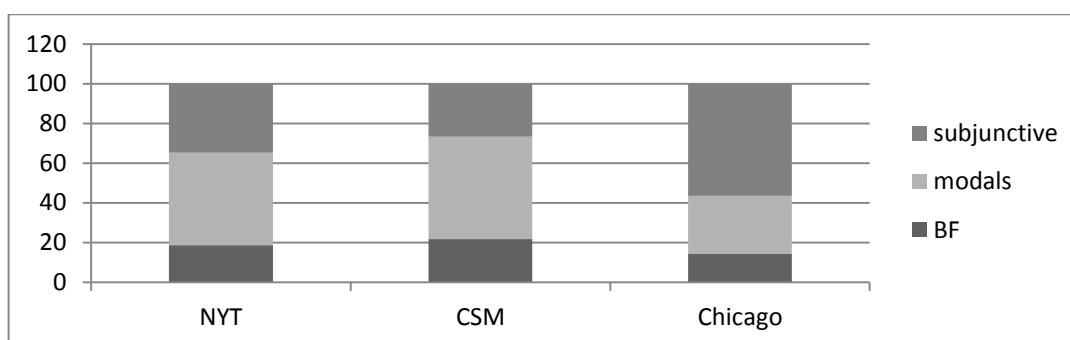


Figure 48: Ratio in major sources of newspapers

Figure 48 portrays the ratio between subjunctive forms and modal verbs in the three major sources of the genre of newspapers (*New York Times*, *Christian Science Monitor* and *Chicago News*). The *New York Times*, which adds up to 53.2 percent of the whole data on newspapers, confirms the general percentages of the genre and slightly favours modals (46.6%) over the subjunctive (34.7%). The *Chicago News* shows an even stronger preference for the subjunctive (56.5%). The *Christian Science Monitor*, however, uses the subjunctive (26.6%) less often and clearly prefers modal verbs (51.6%). The reason for this could be that individual authors prefer one construction or the other, but for a complete answer to my hypothesis, it will be necessary to compare the percentages above with that of the other genres.

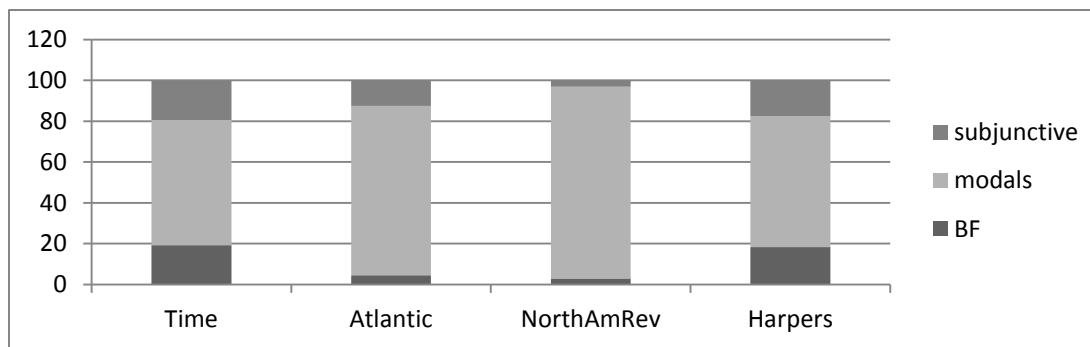


Figure 49: Ratio in major sources of magazines

The numbers for the distribution of subjunctives, base forms, and modals in the most frequent magazines of the corpora mirror the findings in Figure 41, as all four magazines definitely contain more modal verbs than subjunctives and base forms. While the percentages of *Time Magazine* and *Harpers Magazine* correspond to the overall trend in magazines, the *Atlantic* and the *North American Review* contain even fewer subjunctives than the average of the whole genre. This may, again, depend on individual authors or on the time in which the majority of the texts taken from these magazines was published. The texts from the *North American Review* and the *Atlantic*, for instance, date mainly from the 19th and early 20th centuries, where modal verbs were much more frequent than the subjunctive, as I showed earlier, whereas *Time Magazine* and *Harpers Magazine* cover mostly the second half of the 19th century and the 20th century, where the subjunctive and the base form occurred more often than in the earlier periods. Overall, the findings for the individual texts within these genres correspond to the general results from Figure 41. Thus, it can be said that my hypothesis is valid and that the subjunctive is, indeed, more frequent in all newspapers than in all magazines.

For the genres of fiction, non-fiction, and academic writing, the number of results for the individual texts was not large enough to allow for substantiated conclusions. Consequently, it is not possible to make a deeper investigation of the trends within these genres in this thesis, as I would need a larger amount of data for each text. Yet, the data for spoken texts permits an analysis of the individual texts, which is going to be the last part of this section.

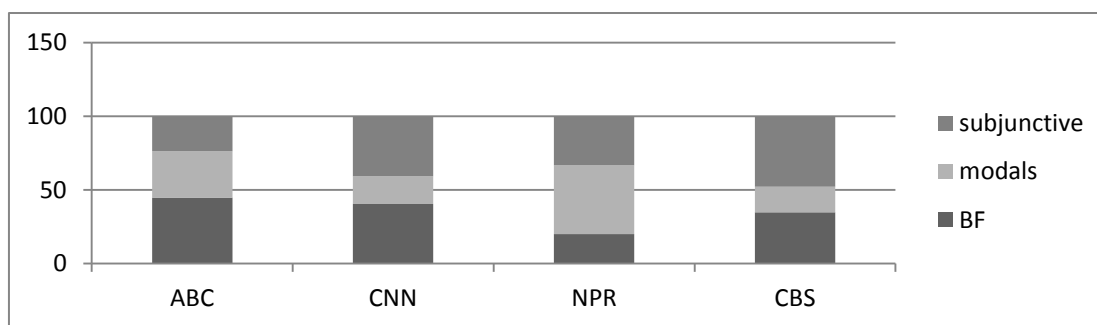


Figure 50: Ratio in major sources of spoken texts

As concerns the major sources of spoken texts, there are considerable discrepancies between them. Whereas broadcasts from ABC, CNN and CBS mirror the overall trend of the genre and favour the subjunctive and the base form, NPR prefers modal verbs. In this case, which form is chosen may, indeed, depend on the speaker. As I already stated above, the percentage of subjunctives may be so high because the texts are newspaper broadcasts to a large extent and are, therefore, more formal than day-to-day conversations. Nevertheless, this genre is less important than the others for the reasons I explained earlier and, therefore, I am going to disregard the findings.

To sum up, Hypothesis 4 is valid, as the subjunctive is, indeed, more frequent in formal genres than in informal ones, as my results for newspapers and academic writing have shown in comparison to magazines and non-fictional texts. Consequently, it can be said that the formality of the genre, indeed, influences the choice of the subjunctive. Therefore, what Close (1975) says about the subjunctive's formal nature is true. Thus, the question remains of whether Harsh (1968) and Poutsma (1922), both of whom state that the subjunctive is characteristic of literary genres, are right, too. In my opinion, this depends on the interpretation of the term "literary". If literary means the same as "formal", their statements are definitely true. If, however, literary means that the subjunctive is more frequent in literature, i.e. in fiction, than in non-fictional texts, the answer is less obvious. If I only compare the percentages for fiction, where the subjunctive accounts for 14.2 percent, and non-fiction, where it adds up to 9.3 per cent, they are right again. Yet, if I also take into account the other genres, which I would also classify as "non-fictional", their claims are wrong, as the subjunctive occurs more often in newspapers, magazines, and academic writing than in fiction. Overall, whether I judge Harsh's and Poutsma's propositions as true or false will depend on my approach to the expression "literary". I

personally prefer the last possibility I presented and, therefore, claim that what Harsh and Poutsma say is wrong, as the subjunctive is more frequent in most non-fictional texts (which, in this case, are not only those texts labelled “non-fiction” in the corpus, but all texts that do not belong to the genre of “fiction”) than in fictional texts.

As for my main question in this thesis, I conclude from the findings on Hypothesis 4 that the subjunctive still exists because it is typical of formal genres, which, in the case of my data, would be newspapers and academic writing (cf. e.g. Biber & Conrad 2009). In other words, as long as speakers make use of it in formal writing, there is no danger of its extinction. The subjunctive obviously was attributed this role of a formal means of expression at some point in history and maintains it still today. The reason for this could be that speakers (or writers) want to mark their texts as particularly formal by distinguishing them from “ordinary” writing. Consequently, they choose expressions and forms that are rare in everyday conversation, one of them being the subjunctive. Thus, the subjunctive is more and more attributed to formal style and is used more frequently in formal genres, whereas it declines in informal genres. Therefore, my prediction for the subjunctive is that it may become rarer in day-to-day language and be completely restricted to formal writing one day. Still, I do not believe that it will die out in the near future, but rather hope that my prediction is wrong and that it is going to stay a part of informal language, too.

6.5. Hypothesis 5

In Hypothesis 5, I am going to test whether the tense of the matrix verb has an impact on the choice of the subjunctive. My prediction is that the subjunctive should be most frequent when the matrix verb is in the present tense for the reason of tense agreement. In other words, the present subjunctive should occur after a present tense matrix verb, whereas a past tense matrix verb should be accompanied by a modal verb.

In order to check the truth-value of this theory, I am first going to look at the percentage of the individual tenses in the data to see which numbers are most significant for my analysis. Then, I am going to investigate the ratio between

subjunctives, base forms, and modal verbs for each tense to find out whether certain tenses favour one form or the other.

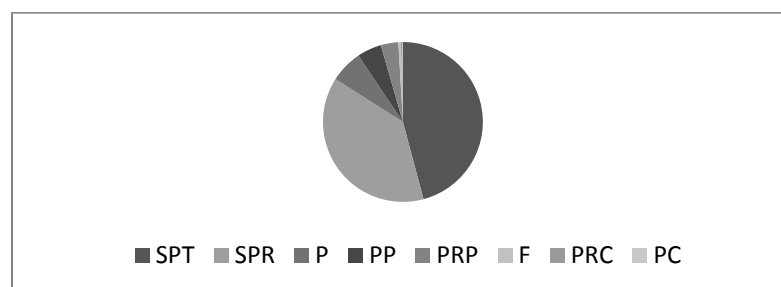


Figure 51: Distribution of tenses in the data

As can be seen in Figure 51, the simple past tense (SPT, 45.3%) and the simple present tense (SPR, 37.7%) are by far most frequent. Therefore, the percentages for the ratio between subjunctives, base forms, and modal verbs for these tenses will be most important for my interpretation. The present participle (P, 6.5%), the past perfect tense (PP, 4.9%), and the present perfect tense (PRP, 3.5%) are less significant, and the future (F), the present continuous (PRC), and the past continuous (PC) are so rare (less than 1% in each case) that the numbers for them will not be reliable. After these general preliminaries, I am going to turn to the concrete results that are relevant for my hypothesis.

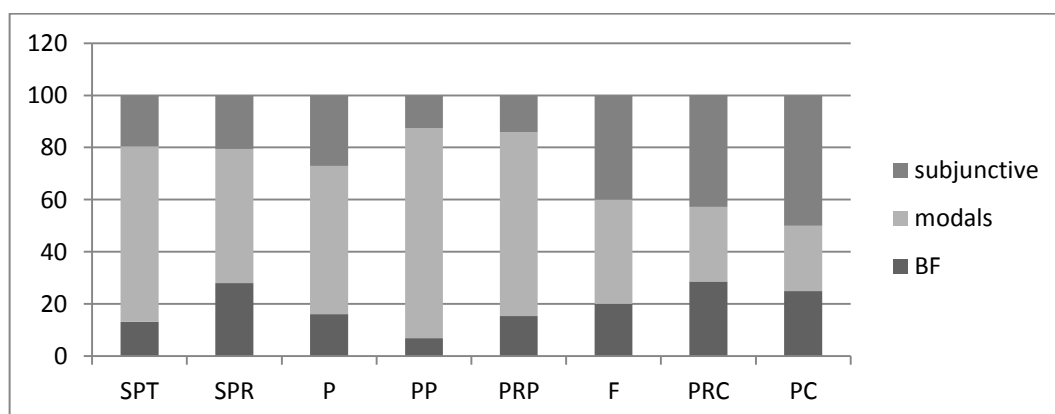


Figure 52: Ratio between base forms, subjunctives, and modals in tenses

Figure 52 demonstrates that the subjunctive is nearly as frequent in the simple present tense (20.5%) as in the simple past tense (19.6%). The base form, however, is significantly more frequent in the simple present tense (28%) than in the simple past tense (13.2%). These findings suggest that tense agreement does not affect the choice of the subjunctive, but rather that of the base form. This contradicts my hypothesis, but nonetheless, it is logical that the present tense takes the base form

more often than the past tense, as this indicates tense agreement. However, what I predicted for the use of modal verbs is right, according to my data, as they are more frequent in the past tense (67.2%) than in the present tense (51.5%), which, again, speaks to tense agreement. Generally, this definitely proves that in the simple present tense, the choice is not made for or against the subjunctive and the base form, but rather against modals. As I explained above, the numbers for the remaining tenses are less meaningful, so they need to be interpreted with caution. The percentages for the past perfect and the present perfect, though, also confirm the argument for tense agreement, as the modals (80.5% in PP and 70.4% in PRP) are definitely more frequent with these two tenses than the other two forms. The high rate of subjunctives in the future, the present continuous, and the past continuous must be doubted, as they rely on very few examples.

Overall, the hypothesis that the subjunctive occurs more often in the simple present tense than in the simple past tense due to tense agreement is invalid, as the subjunctive is almost equally frequent in both tenses. This means that there must be other reasons for the choice of the subjunctive, which I investigated in the other hypotheses. Nevertheless, the theory of tense agreement applies to the base form, which is more frequent with the present tense than with the past tense, and to the modal verbs, which are most frequent in the simple past tense, the past perfect, and the present perfect. Still, Hypothesis 2 stated that tense agreement should also have an impact on the subjunctive, which is not the case in my data, and, therefore, it is false.

Consequently, the findings for this hypothesis do not allow for any substantiated conclusions on the question of why the subjunctive still exists today. Still, Figure 52 illustrates that the subjunctive occurs with all tenses, which suggests that speakers consider it helpful in a variety of temporal contexts. However, I cannot answer the question about the reason for this with the help of my data. Therefore, further research with a larger amount of data for each tense is needed to analyse the use of the subjunctive in the individual tenses.

6.6. Hypothesis 6

In Hypothesis 6, I stated that it may also be the case that the distribution of subjunctives, base forms, and modal verbs is random and happens by chance. If this were true, the null hypothesis would be valid. Yet, as I illustrated in the analysis of my other hypotheses, the choice between the three forms is not random, as I could identify various factors that influence it. The first of these factors is the subject of the dependent clause. The subjunctive occurs more often with third person singular subjects than with the other persons (see Hypothesis 1). Moreover, the voice of the subordinate clause also has an impact on the choice of the subjunctive, as it is more frequent in passive sentences than in active ones (see Hypothesis 3). Formality (see Hypothesis 4), too, triggers the subjunctive, which shows a higher rate in formal genres (newspapers and academic writing) than in informal genres (magazines, non-fiction). Thus, I found three factors in my research that favour the occurrence of the subjunctive.

Nevertheless, my results also prove that the matrix verb itself is no indication of the form that is chosen, as all of the verbs I investigated definitely preferred modal verbs during the 19th century, and today, the three forms are competing with one another for each of the verbs. Consequently, no verb showed a lexical solidarity to the subjunctive and the hypothesis that the matrix verb influences the choice of the subjunctive is false (see Hypothesis 2). Also, the hypothesis that the tense of the matrix verb has an impact on the choice of mood is wrong, as no tense clearly favours the subjunctive. Hence, tense agreement does not affect the subjunctive, but it affects the base form, which is more frequent after a present tense verb, and the modals, which occur more often after past tense verbs (see Hypothesis 5).

Overall, as I explained above, there are certain factors that influence the choice of the subjunctive, although not all of the potential factors I tested proved to have an impact. Therefore, the null hypothesis is invalid. After this detailed analysis of my hypotheses, I am finally going to turn to the claims I want to test.

6.7. Claim 1

According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 995 quoted in Bergs & Heine 2010: 111), the subjunctive outnumbers the *should* construction in Contemporary English. This claim deals with a main controversy in the literature on the subjunctive, as different researchers state that different forms are most frequent today. Therefore, it will be particularly interesting to test it.

Whether I judge Claim 1 as true or false will depend on which percentages I compare and on whether I include ambiguous base forms or not. If I compare the general percentages of definite subjunctives and the *should* construction in the whole data, the claim is wrong, as the subjunctive accounts for 20 percent, whereas *should* adds up to 31.8 percent. Yet, if I also include the ambivalent base forms and act on the assumption that they are subjunctives, as well, the subjunctive (38.8%) is more frequent and the claim is correct. For the COCA alone, the outcome is different again and the claim is clearly right, as *should* only accounts for 12.5 percent and is outnumbered by the subjunctive (31.7% alone), which adds up to 67.2 percent, including ambivalent forms.

Overall, I assume that the numbers from the COCA are most relevant, as they portray the situation in Contemporary English, and, since Huddleston and Pullum refer to Contemporary English, their claim is true, according to my data.

6.8. Claim 2

González-Alvarez states that active subjunctives are more frequent than passive subjunctives in her Late Modern English data. I am now going to check whether this is also true for my data.

According to my results, González-Alvarez is right if I include ambiguous forms in my analysis. Whereas passive subjunctives account for 41 percent of all base forms, active subjunctives (including ambivalent forms) amount to 59 percent. If, however, I only compare the numbers of definite subjunctives, González-Alvarez is wrong, as active subjunctives would then only add up to 25 percent. I personally think that

González-Alvarez only refers to clear subjunctives and, therefore, I conclude that her claim is false.

6.9. Claim 3

Övergaard (1995) argues that the non-inflected subjunctive has increased during the 20th century and is now more frequent than modal verbs. In order to test this claim, I am going to go back to Figure 5, in which I portrayed the general development of the subjunctive, the base form, and the modal verbs from 1810 to 2000.

If I only take into consideration the distinct subjunctives, Övergaard's observation is wrong, as the subjunctive is still less frequent than the modals, although it has experienced a significant rise in the course of the 20th century. Yet, if I also include the ambiguous base forms, what Övergaard says is true and this reversal of subjunctives and modals has, indeed, taken place. Thus, whether I judge his claim as right or wrong depends on my interpretation. However, he uses the expression "non-inflected", which could mean that he refers to all base forms and not only to definite subjunctives and, therefore, I conclude that Övergaard's claim is correct.

6.10. Claim 4

According to Davidsen-Nielsen (1990), modal verbs today fulfil most of the functions that the subjunctive had in former times. Romaine (1998) observes a similar development and states that either the indicative or the modal verbs replace the subjunctive in Contemporary English.

As far as these claims are concerned, although modal verbs add up to 61.2 percent of all forms in my data (see Figure 1), it is wrong to state that they have replaced the subjunctive, as the subjunctive today amounts to 31.7 percent, excluding ambiguous forms, and 67.2 percent including these forms. My findings also illustrate that, while the modal verbs were clearly more frequent in the 19th century, they have declined considerably during the 20th century and may even be outnumbered by the subjunctive today if I include ambivalent forms. Thus, Davidsen-Nielsen's claim is definitely false. As for Romaine, her claim could be partly true if I act on the

assumption that all forms that are no clear subjunctives are indicatives. In this case, the indicative (35.5%) would be more frequent than the subjunctive (31.7%), which would also occur less often than the modals (32.8%). Yet, for me, the discrepancy between the three forms is not strong enough to speak to a replacement of the subjunctive by the indicative and the modal verbs. Overall, I conclude that Davidsen-Nielsen and Romaine are wrong.

7. Conclusion

The starting point for this thesis was the problem that the subjunctive, which had distinct inflectional endings in Old English, gradually merged with the indicative in Middle English and is only recognisable in a few contexts today, namely the third person singular, where the –s inflection that would indicate an indicative is missing, in the passive, where it is formed with *be*, and in the past form *were*. Due to this similarity to the indicative, a means of expression was needed to support the mandative function of the subjunctive and to distinguish it from the indicative. Consequently, modal verbs became more and more frequent. For my research, I wanted to investigate what the situation of the subjunctive is like today and find an answer to the question of why the subjunctive still exists in Contemporary English in spite of these disadvantageous conditions. Moreover, in the literature, I found several contradictory statements from researchers, which left some questions open and which I wanted to clarify in my analysis. Consequently, I established a set of hypotheses that should help me to identify the factors that influence the choice of the subjunctive and that explain why it is still used by speakers today.

From the five hypotheses I established at the beginning of my research, three proved to be definitely valid, whereas two turned out to be wrong. In Hypothesis 1, I acted on the assumption that the subjunctive should be more frequent if the subject of the dependent clause is in the third person singular as it is clearly visible there. This applies to my data, as the subjunctive, indeed, occurred more often with a third person singular than with the other persons. Similarly, in Hypothesis 3, I affirmed that the subjunctive should be more frequent in the passive, as it is formed with *be* and is, therefore, distinct in all persons in this voice. This is right, as well, according to my results. Yet, the assumption that the passive should be triggered by formality could not be confirmed in my research. Nonetheless, I demonstrated in Hypothesis 4 that the subjunctive occurs more often in formal genres than in informal ones.

However, the prediction that the matrix verb should favour the choice of the subjunctive proved to be false, as I found out in the analysis of Hypothesis 2 that all of the verbs I had chosen preferred modal verbs throughout the 19th century and today no predilection for any form is visible. Yet, here the ambivalent base forms

should be considered. If they were all subjunctives, the situation would be different and the subjunctive would be more frequent than modal verbs with all verbs. Though, as it cannot definitely be said whether the base forms are subjunctives or indicatives, I opted for the “worst case” and interpreted them as indicatives, whereby Hypothesis 2 is invalid. Also Hypothesis 5 is wrong, according to my findings, as I could not identify a correlation between the tense of the matrix verb and the occurrence of the subjunctive. Nevertheless, tense agreement turned out to affect the base form and the modals. Thus, if all base forms were subjunctives, this hypothesis would be true, as well. Finally, as three of my hypothesis proved valid, Hypothesis 6, the null hypothesis of random distribution of subjunctives and modals is false, as there are factors that influence the choice, which is, therefore, not random.

As concerns the questions from the literature that remained open, I could not identify a definite preference for any form today, as my data indicates that they are competing in Contemporary English. Consequently, I conclude that all researchers who claim that one form clearly outnumbers the other two are wrong. Similarly, I proved that the subjunctive is favoured by formal genres, so those people who argue for the subjunctive’s popularity in informal genres, are mistaken too. Finally, I also clarified that the subjunctive is more common in passive constructions than in active ones.

With regard to the claims that I found in the literature and that I wanted to check, two of them turned out to be correct, whereas two are wrong according to my findings. It is, indeed, true that the subjunctive is more frequent in American English than *should* (Claim 1), and that there are more non-inflected forms than modal verbs today (Claim 3). However, it is definitely false that there are more active subjunctives than passive subjunctives (Claim 2) and that the modals nowadays fulfil most of the functions that the subjunctive had in former days (Claim 4).

As for my main question of why the subjunctive still exists today, I conclude from my research that it is still alive because it is favoured in certain contexts, i.e. it is popular in the third person singular and in the passive, as it is distinct in these contexts, and it is also a characteristic of formal style. In other words, if it is clearly visible, the subjunctive is used more often. Additionally, the subjunctive is a special form and,

therefore, has a certain prestige, especially in formal writing. Thus, people make use of it to distinguish themselves from other speakers or writers. To sum up, there are various factors which influence the choice of the subjunctive and which, consequently, preserve its usage.

Overall, the subjunctive has the problem that it is so similar to the indicative and, therefore, is often ambiguous. Thus, it may often be mistaken for the indicative and not be recognised at all. Yet, there are still specific contexts in which it is used and in which it will also survive, in my opinion. In this spirit, I would like to end my thesis by quoting Zhou (1996:93) and plead that every speaker of the English language “KEEP THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD ALIVE AND GIVE IT A PLACE!”

8. Bibliography

- Auwers, Johan van der; Schalley, Ewa. 2004. "From Optative and Subjunctive to Irrealis". In Brisard, Frank; Meeuwis, Michael; Vandenabeele, Bart (eds.). *Seduction, Community, Speech*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 87-96.
- Barbiers, Sjef. 2002. "Current issues in modality". In Barbiers, Sjef (ed.). *Modality and its interaction with the verbal system*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1-15.
- Bateni, Mohammad Reza. 2010. "Collocations and Idioms and Their Translatability". *Iranian Studies: Journal of the International Society for Iranian Studies* 43 (5), 591-597.
- Behre, Frank. 1934. *The Subjunctive in Old English poetry*. Göteborg.
- Bergs, Alexander; Heine, Lena. 2010. "Mood in English". In Rothstein, Björn (ed.). *Mood in the languages of Europe*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 103-116.
- Beukema, Frits; Wurff, Wim van der. 2002. "Modals, objects and negation in late Middle English". In Barbiers, Sjef (ed.). *Modality and its interaction with the verbal system*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 75-99.
- Bevier, Thyra Jane. 1931. "American Use of the Subjunctive". *American Speech: A Quarterly of Linguistic Usage* 6 (3), 207-15.
- Biber, Douglas; Conrad, Susan; Leech, Geoffrey. 2002. *Longman student grammar of spoken and written English*. Harlow: Longman.
- Biber, Douglas; Conrad, Susan. 2009. *Register, genre, and style*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Blake, Norman (ed.). 1992. *The Cambridge history of the English language: 1066-1476*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Chiba, Shuji. 1991. "Non-Localizable Contextual Features: Present Subjunctives in English". In Nakajima, Heizo (ed.) *Current English Linguistics in Japan*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 19-43.
- Close, Reginald Arthur. 1995. *A reference grammar for students of English*. Burnt Mill: Longman.
- Collins, Peter. 2009. *Modals and quasi-modals in English*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Davidson-Nielsen, Niels. 1990. *Tense and mood in English: a comparison with Danish*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Davies, Mark. (2008-) *The Corpus of Contemporary American English: 425 million words, 1990-present*. Available online at <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca> (11 March 2012).
- Davies, Mark. (2010-) *The Corpus of Historical American English: 400 million words, 1810-2009*. Available online at <http://corpus.byu.edu/coha> (11 March 2012).
- Dillon, Mary C. 1982. *A new analysis of the modal verbs in English*. Ph.D. Cornell University.
- Ehrman, Madeline Elizabeth. 1966. *The meanings of the modals in present-day American English*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Fisiak, Jacek. 1979. *A short grammar of Middle English*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Giorgi, Alessandra. 2009. "Toward a Syntax of the Subjunctive Mood". *Lingua: International Review of General Linguistics* 119 (12), 1837-1858.
- González-Alvarez, Dolores. 2003. "If He Come vs. If He Comes, If He Shall Come: Some Remarks on the Subjunctive in Conditional Protases in Early and Late Modern English". *Bulletin de la Société Néophilologique* 104 (3), 303-13.

- Gotti, Maurizio. 2003. "Shall and will in contemporary English". In Facchinetti, Roberta (ed.). *Modality in contemporary English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 270- 297.
- Grund, Peter. 2006. "The Subjunctive in Adverbial Clauses in Nineteenth-Century English". In Kytö, Merja; Rydén, Mats; Smitterberg, Erik (eds.). *Nineteenth-Century English: Stability and Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 89-109.
- Haan, Ferdinand de. 2006. "Typological approaches to modality". In Frawley, William (ed.). *The expression of modality*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 27-62.
- Hahn, Emma Adelaide. 1953. *Subjunctive and optative: their origin as futures*. New York: American Philol. Assoc.
- Harsh, Wayne. 1968. *The subjunctive in English*. Alabama: University of Alabama Press.
- Hermerén, Lars. 1978. *On modality in English: a study of the semantics of the modals*. Lund: Gleerup.
- Hogg, Richard M. (ed.). 1992. *The Cambridge history of the English language: The beginnings to 1066*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Hotz, Gerold. 1882. *On the use of the subjunctive mood in Anglo-Saxon, and its further history in old English*. Zürich: Höhr.
- James, Francis. 1983. *Unified theory of the English subjunctive*. Ph.D. University of California.
- Journoud, Sylvain. 1971. "Déclin du subjonctif". *French Review* 44 (3), 549-51.
- Kempchinsky, Paula. 2009. "What Can the Subjunctive Disjoint Reference Effect Tell Us about the Subjunctive?". *Lingua: International Review of General Linguistics* 119 (12), 1788-1810.
- Krug, Manfred G. 2000. *Emerging English modals: a corpus-based study of grammaticalization*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Larrea, Paul. 2009. "Towards a typology of modality in language". In Salkie, Raphael (ed.). *Modality in English: theory and description*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 9-27.
- Lass, Roger (ed.). 1999. *The Cambridge history of the English language: 1476-1776*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Lee, Jackie. 2006. "Subjunctive Were and Indicative Was: A Corpus Analysis for English Language Teachers and Textbook Writers". *Language Teaching Research* 10 (1), 80-93.
- Leech, Geoffrey. 2003. "Modality on the move: The English modal auxiliaries 1961-1992". In Facchinetti, Roberta (ed.). *Modality in contemporary English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 223-238.
- Legault, Suzanne Ramey. 1982. *Tense and modality in English: a pragmatic approach*. Dissertation Georgetown University.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2006. "Modality: Overview and linguistic issues". In Frawley, William (ed.). *The expression of modality*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1-20.
- Ogawa, Hiroshi. 1989. *Old English modal verbs: a syntactical study*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger.
- Övergaard, Gerd. 1995. *The mandative subjunctive in American and British English in the 20th century*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Palmer, Frank Robert. 1979. *Modality and the English modals*. London: Longman.
- Palmer, Frank Robert. 1986. *Mood and modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Peters, Pam. 1998. "The Survival of the Subjunctive: Evidence of Its Use in Australia and Elsewhere". *English World-Wide: A Journal of Varieties of English* 19 (1), 87-103.

- Poutsma, Hendrik. 1922. *Mood and tense of the English verb*. Groningen: Noordhoff.
- Quer, Josep. 2001. "Interpreting mood". *Probus: International Journal of Latin and Romance Linguistics* 13 (1), 81-111.
- Quer, Josep (ed.). 2009. "The Distribution and Interpretation of Indicative and Subjunctive". *Lingua: International Review of General Linguistics* 119 (12), 1979-1787.
- Romaine, Suzanne (ed.). 1998. *The Cambridge history of the English language: 1776-1997*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Salkie, Raphael. 2009. "Degrees of modality". In Salkie, Raphael (ed.). *Modality in English: theory and description*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 79-101.
- Shankara Bhat, Darbhe N. 1999. *The prominence of tense, aspect and mood*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Sinclair, John (ed.). 2006. *Collins COBUILD advanced learner's English dictionary*. (5th edition). Glasgow: HarperCollins.
- Smessaert, Hans. 2007. "The evaluation of aspectual distance, speed and progress". In Saussure, Louis de (ed.). *Tense, mood and aspect: theoretical and descriptive issues*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 27-45.
- Suzuki, Nathanael Y. 1982. *A generative semantic analysis of the English modals*. Dissertation Georgetown University.
- Traugott, Elizabeth. 2006. "Historical aspects of modality". In Frawley, William (ed.). *The expression of modality*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 107-129.
- Tsoulas, George. 1995. "The Nature of the Subjunctive and the Formal Grammar of Obviation". In Zagana, Karen (ed.). *Grammatical Theory and Romance Languages*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 293-306.
- Zhou, Kaixin. 1996. "A Modest View on the Subjunctive Mood". *English Studies: A Journal of English Language and Literature* 77 (1), 92-96.

9. Appendix

Abstract

The subjunctive is a grammatical form, which exists inter alia in dependent clauses expressing a wish or a command. In Old English, this form still had distinct inflectional endings, which differentiated it from the indicative. In the course of time, particularly during the Middle English period, these endings were reduced and the subjunctive was formally distinguishable from the indicative only in the third person singular, as well as in the passive voice. Thus, it was necessary to use other constructions to replace the function of the subjunctive, whereby modal verbs increased more and more, which simultaneously led to a significant decrease of the subjunctive. These disadvantageous conditions led many researchers to predict the extinction of the subjunctive. Nonetheless, it still exists today, whereby I asked myself the question of why it survived despite this bad starting position. I decided to focus on the mandative subjunctive in dependent clauses expressing a wish etc., and selected eight matrix verbs, which introduce such clauses (*advise, beg, command, decree, direct, intend, plead* and *prefer*). Next, I established several hypotheses to identify various factors that favour the use of the subjunctive. As my results showed, the subjunctive frequently occurs with third person singular subjects, which can be explained by the fact that it is clearly identifiable in this person, and, therefore, it is not necessary to use a different construction that has the same function. Moreover, the subjunctive is more frequent in passive subordinate clauses than in active ones, the reason for this being that it is formed with *be* in the passive voice and is thus visible in all persons. Furthermore, I could prove that formal genres favour the subjunctive, while it is much rarer in informal genres, where modal verbs are preferred. Nevertheless, I also found out that matrix verbs expressing a wish etc. do not influence the use of the subjunctive, since none of the verbs above showed a clear preference for the subjunctive. Overall, it can be said that the subjunctive is still used productively in those contexts, in which it is clearly visible, whereas it is rarer in ambiguous contexts.

Zusammenfassung

Der Subjunktiv ist eine grammatikalische Verbform, die unter anderem in Nebensätzen des Wünschens und Wollens vorkommt. Im Altenglischen hatte diese Form noch eindeutige Endungen, die sie vom Indikativ unterschieden. Nach und nach, vor allem im Laufe der Mittenglischen Periode, wurden die Endungen jedoch reduziert und der Subjunktiv war nur noch in der 3. Person Singular, sowie im Passiv vom Indikativ formal differenzierbar. Dadurch wurde es notwendig, andere Mittel zu verwenden, um die Funktion des Subjunktiv zu ersetzen, wodurch Modalverben mehr und mehr zunahm, was gleichzeitig zu einem deutlichen Rückgang des Subjunktiv führte. Diese ungünstigen Bedingungen verleiteten viele Wissenschaftler dazu, das Aussterben des Subjunktiv vorherzusagen. Nichtsdestotrotz existiert er nach wie vor, weshalb ich mir die Frage stellte, warum er trotz dieser schlechten Ausgangslage überlebt hat. Ich beschloss, mich auf den mandativen Subjunktiv in Nebensätzen des Wünschens und Wollens zu konzentrieren, und wählte acht Verben aus, die solche Nebensätze einleiten (*advise, beg, command, decree, direct, intend, plead* und *prefer*). Ich stellte folglich eine Reihe von Hypothesen auf, um verschiedene Faktoren zu identifizieren, die den Gebrauch des Subjunktiv begünstigen. Wie sich herausstellte, wird der Subjunktiv häufig mit einem Subjekt in der 3. Person Singular gebraucht, was darauf zurückzuführen ist, dass er in dieser Person eindeutig zu erkennen ist und es deshalb nicht notwendig ist, sich einer anderen Konstruktion zu bedienen, die die gleiche Funktion hätte. Zudem kommt der Subjunktiv häufiger in passiven Nebensätzen vor, als in aktiven, was daran liegt, dass er im Passiv mit dem Hilfsverb *be* gebildet wird und somit in allen Personen erkennbar ist. Des Weiteren konnte ich beweisen, dass formale Textsorten den Subjunktiv bevorzugen, während er in informalen Texten weitaus seltener vorkommt und Modalverben bevorzugt werden. Wie sich jedoch auch herausstellte, haben die Verben des Wünschens und Wollens keinen Einfluss auf den Gebrauch des Subjunktiv, da keines der oben genannten Verben eine eindeutige Präferenz für den Subjunktiv zeigte. Allgemein kann also gesagt werden, dass der Subjunktiv in jenen Kontexten, in denen er klar erkennbar ist, weiterhin produktiv gebraucht wird, während er in mehrdeutigen Kontexten weitaus seltener benutzt wird.

Lebenslauf

Persönliche Informationen

Nachname(n) / Vorname(n)	Krasanovsky Tina Maria
Adresse	Martinstraße 1/23, 1180 Wien (Österreich)
Mobil	06803250360
E-Mail	t.krasanovsky@gmail.com
Staatsangehörigkeit	österreichisch
Geburtsdatum	29. Juni 1988
Geschlecht	Weiblich

Schul- und Berufsbildung

Zeitraum	September 1994 - Juni 1998
Name und Art der Bildungs- oder Ausbildungseinrichtung	Volksschule Bruck an der Leitha Hauptplatz 8, 2460 Bruck an der Leitha (Österreich)
Zeitraum	September 1998 - Juni 2006
Bezeichnung der erworbenen Qualifikation	AHS Matura
Name und Art der Bildungs- oder Ausbildungseinrichtung	BG/BRG Bruck an der Leitha Fischamenderstraße 23-25, 2460 Bruck an der Leitha (Österreich)
Zeitraum	Oktober 2006 →
Hauptfächer/berufliche Fähigkeiten	Lehramt UF Englisch UF Französisch
Name und Art der Bildungs- oder Ausbildungseinrichtung	Universität Wien Dr-Karl-Lueger-Ring 1, 1010 Wien (Österreich)

Berufserfahrung

Zeitraum	01. August 2007 - 31. August 2007
Beruf oder Funktion	Ferialpraktikantin
Wichtigste Tätigkeiten und Zuständigkeiten	Büroarbeit Schmuckerzeugung
Name und Adresse des Arbeitgebers	Demontage- und Recyclingzentrum Vogtgasse 29, 1140 Wien (Österreich)
Tätigkeitsbereich oder Branche	Erbringung von sonstigen Dienstleistungen
Zeitraum	01. Oktober 2008 →
Beruf oder Funktion	Nachhilfelehrerin
Wichtigste Tätigkeiten und Zuständigkeiten	Nachhilfe in Englisch und Französisch
Zeitraum	17. Juli 2011 - 23. Juli 2011
Beruf oder Funktion	Begleitperson

Wichtigste Tätigkeiten und
Zuständigkeiten

Name und Adresse des
Arbeitgebers

Beaufsichtigung von Kindern während einer Ferienwoche

Verein Jugend für eine geeinte Welt
Meyrinkgasse 7, 1230 Wien (Österreich)